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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Berisha Meets With U.S. Congressman *[ATA]* 1
Starova, Greek Counterpart Sign Protocol *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Port of Durres Gains Increasing Importance *[ATA]* 1

BULGARIA

SDS Deputies Attack Berov Cabinet *[BTA]* 2
Mayors Allege Trend of Centralized Government *[BTA]* 2
Khaskovo Farmers Demand Government Resignation *[BTA]* 2
Decline in Trade Union Authority Noted *[DUMA 5 Apr]* 3

CZECH REPUBLIC

DSP Leadership Splits Over Ex-Communist *[CTK]* 4
Havel Interviewed on Relations With Germany *[Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG 10-12 Apr]* 4
Union Leader Warns of Workers' Radicalization *[CTK]* 6
Press Views Clinton-Yeltsin Summit *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 6 Apr]* 6

SLOVAKIA

Kovac Declares Limited Amnesty for Criminals *[CTK]* 8
Zelenay Predicts No Split in Meciar Movement *[REPUBLIKA]* 8
HZDS Holds First News Conference Since Elections *[NARODNA OBRODA 8 Apr]* 8
Livestock Trucks Turned Back at Hungarian Border *[CTK]* 9
U.S. Official on Reopening of Bugging Inquiry *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 7 Apr]* 9

POLAND

Lithuanians Want Administrative District in Sejny *[PAP]* 10
Foreign Investment Agency Official Interviewed *[TRYBUNA OPOLSKA 30 Mar]* 10

ROMANIA

Official on U.S. Interests in Assisting Nation *[AZI 6 Apr]* 12
Nastase Discusses Visit, Bilateral Ties With Ukraine *[ROMPRES]* 12
FSN Dismisses Dragomir From Leadership Position *[ROMANIA LIBERA 7 Apr]* 13
Political Parties React to Union Protests *[Bucharest Radio]* 13
Union Holds Rally; Zelenco Comments on Demands *[ROMPRES]* 13
Vacaroiu Outlines Social Protection Measures *[ROMPRES]* 14

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Bartholomew Arrives in Mostar, Opens Talks *[Zagreb Radio]* 15
Presidency Member Assesses Talks With Bartholomew *[Sarajevo Radio]* 15
Sarajevo Shelled; U.S. Envoy Arrives *[Zagreb Radio]* 15
U.S., French, German Planes Drop Aid to Srebrenica *[Zagreb Radio]* 15
No Incidents on First Day of NATO No-Fly Operation *[TANJUG]* 15
UN Aid Trucks Depart Bratunac for Srebrenica *[TANJUG]* 16
Aid Convoy Reaches Srebrenica *[AFP]* 16
Casualties in Latest Srebrenica Attack Reported *[AFP]* 16

Izetbegovic Appeals To Islamic Countries for Help *[TANJUG]* 16
Serb Leader Accuses Muslims of Fresh Offensives *[TANJUG]* 17
Karadzic on NATO Flights, Bartholomew Visit *[Belgrade Radio]* 17
Serb Commander Says 12 NATO Planes in Flight *[Belgrade Radio]* 17
Srebrenica Muslims Accused of 'Stagemanaged' Attacks *[TANJUG]* 18
Serbs Refuse To 'Tolerate' EC Observers *[TANJUG]* 19
Serbs Capture Muslim Stronghold in Sarajevo *[TANJUG]* 19
Halilovic Protests Enemy Offensive to Wahlgren *[Sarajevo Radio]* 19
Muslims Reportedly Breach Cease-Fire *[TANJUG]* 19
Muslims Block Travnik by Erecting Barricades *[TANJUG]* 20
Serbs Reportedly Refuse UN Entry Into Srebrenica *[Sarajevo Radio]* 20
Muslims Reportedly Fire on British Vehicles *[Zagreb Radio]* 20

CROATIA

Belgrade Radio Reports Krajina Under Attack 21
Jarcevic: Army Actions Put Geneva Talks in Question *[TANJUG]* 21
Secret Serb-Croat Accord 'Intentionally' Disclosed *[GLOBUS 5 Mar]* 21
Position of Muslims in Croatia Discussed *[VJESNIK 17 Mar]* 24

SLOVENIA

'Greens' Party Splits Into Two Factions *[DELO 18 Mar]* 27
Farmers Demand Protectionist Measures *[DNEVNIK 23 Mar]* 27
Government Seeks Talks With Trade Unions *[DNEVNIK 23 Mar]* 28
New, Simpler Customs Regulations Promulgated *[DELO 30 Mar]* 30

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

JAT Crews Detect 'Not a Single' NATO Plane *[TANJUG]* 32
Jovanovic Warns of 'Deny Flight' Consequences *[TANJUG]* 32
Sentences of TV Reporters in Croatia Protested *[TANJUG]* 32
Textile, Leather Industries Seeking Government Aid *[EKONOMSKA POLITIKA 15 Mar]* 32
Belgian Plane Landing Linked to Boss Jezda's Flight *[NIN 19 Mar]* 33
Israel Linked to Bank Scandal, Petroleum Imports *[NIN 19 Mar]* 34
Increased Role of Yugoslav Air Force *[VREME 29 Mar]* 37
Polemics Surrounding Croatian Author, War Criminal *[VREME 29 Apr]* 39

Serbia

UN Convoy Leaves Belgrade for Srebrenica *[AFP]* 40
War Against Crime Signaling End of War in Bosnia *[VREME 15 Mar]* 40
State Security Involvement in Investigation 'Unusual' *[VREME 15 Mar]* 42

Macedonia

Assembly To Vote on No-Confidence Motion *[TANJUG]* 42
Need To Recognize Macedonian Political Factor *[NIN 19 Mar]* 43

Kosovo

Police Move to Hamper Albanian Assembly *[Zagreb Radio]* 44

Berisha Meets With U.S. Congressman

LD1004101493 Tirana ATA in English 0814 GMT 10 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 10 (ATA)—The president of the Republic of Albania, Sali Berisha met with the U.S. congressman, Elliot Angel.

In this meeting President Berisha expressed his thanks to the U.S. Congress, Senate and government for the great aid they have given and are giving to Albania in the establishment of democracy and the market economy. He also said that the resolute stand of President Clinton to help and support the triumph and development of democracies in the east European countries and in Albania, is a great importance for the overcoming of numerous difficulties [word indistinct] encountering in this period. They in the meeting also discussed extensively the Albanian-U.S. relations and ways of expanding them, the situation in the region, the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the situation in Kosovo and the state of the Albanians in Macedonia. Both parties had similar opinions for the causes and ways of solving the crisis.

The congressman Angel said that the [word indistinct] the stand of Albania in this difficult period of the region, and supports it efforts?.

President Berisha said that U.S. commitment to the solution of the crisis in the region is of a special importance. NATO's influence in forcing a no fly zone and other sanctions towards Serbia, non use of double standards towards Milosevic are factors which will influence in the solution of the conflict in the region.

Starova, Greek Counterpart Sign Protocol

AU0904210593 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Text] Our correspondent Engjellush Serjani has informed us that Greek Deputy Foreign Minister Tsoudherou arrived in Sarande at 1000 [0800 GMT] this morning as the head of a Greek delegation. They were received by Deputy Foreign Minister Starova and other members of the Albanian delegation.

Both deputy foreign ministers signed a protocol that will create an Albanian-Greek joint committee to encourage bilateral relations.

The joint commission held its first working meeting today to implement the ideas and proposals from both sides in the economic field as well as other fields, such as agriculture, health, economic emigration, etc. The joint commission will continue working this afternoon.

It is anticipated that two deputy foreign ministers will hold a special meeting and give a joint news conference.

Port of Durres Gains Increasing Importance

AU1204132893 Tirana ATA in English 1009 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 12 (ATA)—The grave situation in the Albanian sea ports kept improving last year as against a year before, a situation created by the exodus and the great damages caused. During 1992, 10 million tons of various goods, most of which from import, were processed in the port of Durres, the most important port of Albania. The profit realised in 1992 was 10 fold greater than in 1991, because the structure of the processes goods changed where rice, wheat, sugar took the main place.

Ships and freighters are due in and out in the sea port of Durres everyday. There are a lot of sea lines such as Durres - Bari - Durres, Durres - Koper - Durres, and Durres - Trieste- Durres, that existed before.

Various commodities are also being processed in the ports of Vlora, Saranda and Shengjin.

SDS Deputies Attack Berov Cabinet

AU0904202093 Sofia BTA in English 1932 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 9 (BTA)—"Lyuben Berov's government is the most futile one since the start of the reform in Bulgaria," reads a declaration of the Parliamentary Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) in connection with the cabinet's first 100 days in office. The BTA received the declaration this evening.

Lyuben Berov's cabinet was formed in the last days of 1992 on the mandate of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] and was voted into office thanks to the voting power of the Bulgarian Socialist (ex-Communist) Party (BSP) and MP's who broke away from the parliamentary SDS.

In their declaration, the SDS MP's say that the government was formed "after a deal" between the president, the BSP, the DPS and the breakaway SDS MP's. As a result, "political destabilization in Bulgaria has grown into a political chaos, from which personal and group speculative interests stand to gain. Lyuben Berov's government is dangerous for Bulgaria, because no serious political force would assume the responsibility for its rule," the declaration says. The only way out of the political crisis, according to the SDS MP's, is to hold early elections.

The SDS MP's accuse the government of underexercising its right to initiate legislation, pursuing an antisocial policy and a "socially dangerous" health policy, lacking a clearcut financial and economic strategy for the privatization process, and attempting to halt the land reform. "Bulgaria's financial stability is sacrificed due to incompetence, group interests and trade-union claims," the declaration says.

According to the declaration, the government has launched personnel and structural changes in the security area and a crackdown on regional governors. Instead of fighting crime, corruption and illicit business, the cabinet started a war on the SDS, the declaration emphasizes.

The declaration lashes out against the government's foreign policy, which the SDS MP's see as a reason why Bulgaria is losing ground in the Balkans, in Europe and worldwide.

Mayors Allege Trend of Centralized Government

AU1104143093 Sofia BTA in English 1808 GMT 10 Apr 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, April 10 (BTA)—In its programme at noon Radio Sofia aired an eyewitness' account of the brutal Khmer Rouge attack on the night of April 2 to 3, in which three Bulgarian peacekeepers were killed. Dimo Dimov, a soldier of the Bulgarian contingent in Cambodia, said the shootout lasted between two and five minutes. Mr. Dimov disclosed that the Khmer Rouge plundered the Bulgarian camp. Speaking to reporters in Razgrad (northeastern Bulgaria), where one of the victims was buried today, Mr. Dimov appealed that the memory of the dead should not be marred by allegations about drinking sprees with the Khmer Rouge, the local BTA correspondent reported. "The tragedy has serried the ranks of the Bulgarian battalion," Dimo Dimov said.

The mayors of 19 municipalities performing regional functions, including the largest Bulgarian cities of Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna and Burgas, today issued a formal address to the president, the prime minister and the National Assembly chairman, voicing concern over the growing centralization tendency. The mayors are unhappy with the exclusion of the local self-government bodies from the law-making process and with recent attempts by ministries and departments to expand their regional powers. [passage omitted]

The New Policy Centre, set up by Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev, one-time Defence Minister in the previous SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] government, intends to take part in the establishment of a new political formation together with the New Union for Democracy parliamentary faction (of breakaway SDS MP's) and other political organizations, according to a decision of 50 clubs of the centre, which held a national meeting in Sofia today. The lecturers included Mrs. Mariana Todorova, adviser to the president and chairwoman of the Foreign Debt Management Committee, and Svetoslav Stavrev, vice president of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria. The participants in the meeting discussed the country's macroeconomic stabilization and the crisis of the institutions.

The Bulgarian students union held a conference in Sofia today.

The stevedores' strike committee announced today that it will not go on strike on April 12, as most of their grievances were settled and they received a pay rise.

Khaskovo Farmers Demand Government Resignation

AU1204055693 Sofia BTA in English 1920 GMT 11 Apr 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Exerpt] Sofia, April 11 (BTA)—A Bulgarian parliamentary delegation left for New Delhi to attend the 89th regular Inter-Parliamentary Conference.

His Holiness Patriarch Maksim of Bulgaria celebrated a festive liturgy of St. John Chrysostomos at the St. Aleksandur Nevski memorial church in Sofia on the occasion of the Eastern Orthodox Palm Sunday.

The Union of Anti-Fascists in Bulgaria today organized a wreath-laying ceremony at the common grave in the Boris Garden in Sofia to mark the international day of the victims of fascism and World War II. In an address to the nation, received at BTA, the Bulgarian antifascists and former political prisoners call for a repulsion of the "rearing revanchist and ultra-extremist forces in a number of European countries and in Bulgaria."

In its midday news Radio Sofia reported that the air in Silistra (northeastern Bulgaria) was polluted by hydrogen sulfide from the chemical works in the Romanian town of Calarasi across the Danube. The local BTA correspondent reported that the people of Silistra have invited the president and the prime minister to come and see for themselves the condition of the environment in town.

In a radio interview Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov said that in the last three years alone, the state-owned enterprises' bad debts have trebled and now stand at over 45,000 million leva. "The frequent replacement of companies' CEOs made them temporize and pile up new loans, and banks lent the money because they knew the state was going to take up the bad debts," Mr. Aleksandrov said. He believes that all reserves of the Bulgarian economy have been used up in the last year or two. The finance minister expects M.P.'s to try to make political capital out of the budget debate which start this week.

BTA has received a declaration issued by the extraparliamentary Free Cooperative Party, which expresses unqualified support for the home and foreign policy of Prof. Lyuben Berov's government.

Farmers rallied in Khaskovo (southern Bulgaria). Speakers at the rally insisted on soft farm credits. The participants chanted demands for a resignation of the Berov cabinet and for early elections.

Late last night the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] (whose affiliation to the Union of Democratic Forces is now suspended) elected a new leadership. Yuliy Pavlov was reelected leader, and Asen Agov, who was dismissed as TV chief a couple of months ago, kept his position as CDU political secretary. [passage omitted]

Decline in Trade Union Authority Noted

AU1004191893 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 5 Apr 93 p 6

[Ekaterina Popova commentary: "Trade Unions Lose Authority"]

[Text] The trade unions are no longer the force that they were during the first months and years of democracy. Recently they have been losing their influence in the government, parliament, and the political forces, which seem to maintain contact with the unions merely for the sake of good appearances. The institutions no longer quake with fear when they hear the words trade union, which inspired considerable respect when they were mentioned at the dawn of the changes. This is not to say that the trade unions should necessarily frighten anyone, but in the Bulgarian mentality, fear and respect have always gone hand in hand in most cases.

The issue here is not nostalgia, or the euphoria of the first strikes, or the intoxication that the ordinary workers felt when they sensed their own power. The issue is that our trade unions, which were so good at organizing mass protests against the totalitarian regime, have not managed to adapt themselves to a normal role confined to trade-union affairs. The new era, in which far fewer problems can be resolved by work stoppages or blocking the streets, is increasingly displacing the trade unions, which were formed in almost prewar conditions, from the public scene.

It seems that the Podkrepa Labor Confederation has suffered most from the "wind of change." Over the last year or so it has lost a considerable portion of its membership and many people have ceased to have confidence in it. The representative public opinion polls conducted every month by the National Center for Public Opinion Research show that its authority declined by 14 percent from November 1992 to the present, while the percentage of people who disapprove of Podkrepa activities has increased by 10 points.

The KNSB [Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria] has suffered somewhat less, probably because this group still has a relatively strong team of experts that helps promote true trade unionism. During the last six months the KNSB succeeded in retaining its popularity among about 40 percent of the population, but this should not reassure the group as it lost 5 percent of its own membership during the first quarter of 1993 alone. The confederation can hardly look forward to a brilliant future if one remembers that its leader Krustyu Petkov intends to leave it at the KNSB congress in October, and he will probably take some of the leading experts with him.

Regarding his public image, at the moment the KNSB chairman leads the president of Podkrepa by no less than 10 percentage points, although the level of public approval of both has declined. Petkov was undoubtedly greatly helped in maintaining his popularity by his comparatively honest statements on issues connected with the standard of living, pay, compensation for inflation, and the forthcoming privatization, whereas Dr. Trenchev has mainly flexed his muscles on the cadre front. Nonetheless, the truth is that the public is not particularly interested in the professor or the doctor or the unions that they lead.

DSP Leadership Splits Over Ex-Communist

AU0904141593 Prague CTK in English 1921 GMT 7 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 7 (CTK)— The leadership of the Democratic Party of Labor (DSP) has split on the question of whether or not Vasil Mohorita, a former top Communist Party official, can be a leading figure in the DSP.

Currently, the DSP leadership is considering the further existence of the party. It does not rule out the possibility that the party might dissolve and some of its members would decide to switch to the Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD), a DSP member supporting Mohorita told journalists today.

He said that those backing Mohorita are convinced that people should not be pigeon-holed. They should be evaluated according to their professionalism, he added. Mohorita said the majority of the DSP leadership have backed him and he therefore will stay in the party.

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 5 April on page 3 carries the following "zr, CTK"-signed report: "Most members of the DSP Presidium expressed doubts on Friday [2 April] about the meaningfulness of the DSP's further existence as long as Vasil Mohorita, a former leading representative of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Youth Union, operates in the party in a leading position. Mohorita was recently elected chairman of the DSP Organizing Committee. Several members of the Presidium called on Mohorita to resign from the post in the interest of preserving party unity but Mohorita refused to comply. Michal Ambroz resigned on Friday from the post of DSP executive secretary and member of the DSP Central Executive Presidium. The reason for this step, he said, was the realization that it was not possible to reach agreement and cooperate in the present DSP leadership."]

Havel Interviewed on Relations With Germany

AU1204195193 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 10-12 Apr p 11

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Michael Frank; place and date not given: "'I Have Been Devoured by Public Life'"]

[Text] [Frank] Mr. President, after the fall of the communist regime you had hardly been elected head of state of Czechoslovakia when you spontaneously visited Berlin and Munich three years ago. Is the atmosphere of a new beginning, which was created at the time, still evident today? Are you satisfied?

[Havel] There were several reasons for my short visit to East Berlin and Munich shortly after I was elected president for the first time. One of the reasons was the fall of the Berlin Wall and thus of the Iron Curtain. That was my way of welcoming this revolutionary change in European history. At the same time, I wanted to acknowledge that Germany is our most powerful and closest neighbor, with whom we share the longest border. I wanted to create a basis for new, honest, and sincere relations. Visiting Munich also had a symbolic nature (in connection with the 1938 Munich Agreement). My political work is intended to contribute to truly honest relations, which are based on good will, getting to know one another, and sincerity to prevent any taboos from remaining between us. I think that, by and large, this policy has been successful. The enormous activity by German investors in Czechoslovakia and comprehensive relations at all levels are proof of it. On the other hand, there are some things that have failed. You know how long it took us to conclude the negotiations on the German-Czechoslovak Treaty. The ultimate result was a compromise with neither side quite achieving what it wanted. At that time I undertook a few initiatives that were unacceptable to Germany. Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that relations have developed well and that they will continue to do so now that our state is divided and our republic's border with Germany is relatively longer compared with that of the CSFR.

[Frank] So there have been no misunderstandings, no setbacks?

[Havel] Well, I also have to say that I have had quite a few problems at home as far as my position is concerned, because the sufferings of World War II are still very much alive in the minds of many people, and there continues to be a lot of prejudice and animosity.

[Frank] The claims by the Association of Sudeten German Refugees and Expellees have forced all other important bilateral issues into the background for the Czech side, while in Germany only a few people are interested in them.

[Havel] I think that this issue of secondary importance is receiving too much attention. After certain subjects were taboo for 40 years, this proves how difficult many people are finding it to deal with certain things. Besides, some political forces are taking advantage of this ill will. This is why this topic is getting too much attention. I will not come back to it, because I have already expressed all my thoughts on the subject. The Czechs are somehow finding it very hard to deal with their own history in a business-like manner. We must by all means prevent this issue from straining our relations with Germany.

[Frank] Does the fact that, as a result of the division, the Czech Republic has become smaller, while Germany has become larger due to unification, contribute to this ill will?

[Havel] One can see a certain connection there, yet it is certainly not the main reason. In my opinion, the main reason is the fact that the political situation has changed. We no longer live in revolutionary times, in which people are generous and able to swallow even unpleasant things. Today we have an atmosphere in which the lawmakers are criticized, in which the process of the division of power is difficult. Newspapers and various

political forces are systematically looking for controversial issues. All that is part of a stabilized democracy. I think that the ill will mentioned earlier has more to do with this atmosphere than with the fact that the Czech Republic has actually become smaller.

[Frank] What would you expect from those Germans who come to the Czech Republic, or who have influence on the German-Czech relationship?

[Havel] We, who used to live for a long time in complete isolation from the free and democratic world, not only welcome all visitors, we also welcome any intellectual support, any guidance so that politicians here will learn to be politicians, that businessmen can learn the trade of businessmen, and bankers that of bankers. Any kind of intellectual and, of course, practical assistance is welcome. We welcome investment. The more we have to do with one another, the more we travel, the faster the various barriers, distrust, and prejudice will be reduced. Our society sometimes behaves in a Janus-faced way. On the one hand, one can often hear slogans speaking of the "German danger," and of German economic occupation. Many people have complained that Germans are rather noisy in bars and restaurants. On the other hand, one can often see signs (in German) put up in front of houses reading "Rooms to let," and quite a few people have painted German signs beneath the Czech ones on their shops.

[Frank] You fought for the continued existence of Czechoslovakia. Now the CSFR has not only been divided but there is even a danger that the Czech and Slovak Republics will be separated by a particularly tight border.

[Havel] It is true that I was trying very hard to preserve the common state in a democratic form of federation. On the other hand, I never wanted to force the continuation of unity on our society. I was fighting for a referendum which was never held. The last parliamentary election turned the division into a kind of necessity. I accept it as a fact, as an expression of what people wanted. Now that we are two independent states, I see it as my main task to establish the best possible relations so that the common Czech and Slovak interests continue.

[Frank] What would Bonn and the Western states have to do to help prevent a new Iron Curtain between, for example, Moravia and Slovakia?

[Havel] Regarding the border, I am of the opinion that we would have had to set up a normal border between the Slovak and Czech Republics even without Germany's asylum law. This border is also necessary for practical reasons. The border procedures can be established in such a way that relations between the citizens of the two republics are not disturbed. There are tariffs, there are taxes, there is smuggling, and there are migrants from many other countries. We are faced with the problem of migration, and not just as a result of the German asylum law. This problem is much broader and involves many other countries, and it should be solved through cooperation. If the Western countries can somehow help us, then we will not be paying for construction of a new wall that is now a bit further to the east. Other countries should help us work out a body of treaties between the states of this region that channels and filters the migratory movements in a gradual and lasting way without constituting a sharp and inflexible political line, a political barrier. The joint struggle against smugglers, international crime, and the mafia must not separate the countries politically but unite them.

[Frank] Many Germans regard you and other key figures in the "velvet revolution" as a conciliator between intellectuals and politicians. Yet the public role of the other protagonists is rapidly vanishing in your country. The reformers of 1968 are now often confronted with being regarded as ordinary communists.

[Havel] There are many reasons for this. This can be observed in my country and in others, such as Poland. Let me mention two important elements: Society hates looking back and hates looking closely at itself. It particularly hates looking at those who, contrary to the majority, offered resistance to the totalitarian regime, something which many people were unable or unwilling to do. This is what creates a phenomenon that is quite widespread after the collapse of a dictatorship. Wherever former members of the opposition advocate a certain cause in public, one can soon feel how the attention of society ebbs away. People prefer to identify themselves with those that shared the same fate, which means with those who went through that former period in a more or less inconspicuous way. People hardly ever identify themselves with those who were different, who offered resistance. Only later will there be a stage in which society is able to deal with this phenomenon.

[Frank] What about the revolutionaries themselves?

[Havel] They are responsible for another reason: Many members of the intellectual opposition to totalitarianism are simply not made for practical politics. The demands of politics are different. For example, it is necessary to solve innumerable practical problems. By its very nature politics appeals to other types of men and women, but this is not universally true.

[Frank] Some regard you as the exception to that rule.

[Havel] A large number of former dissidents, far more than just myself, are in high state positions today. It depends on the party one became a member of, and what parties were able to turn into proper parties, to behave as such, and, subsequently, to succeed in the elections. The differences are only marginal.

[Frank] For a long time one had the impression that you were longing to return to the desk of the playwright. Why did you prefer the president's desk again?

[Havel] I have long since found out that public life—as well as politics—is a strange animal, which, once you are in its claws, will never release you again. Time and again,

even before I became president, I wanted to take some time off from public affairs and concentrate on my writing. I never managed to. I have been devoured by public life. It is in my nature; I simply have to be involved in politics. So I got caught in the arms of the octopus and had to give in to my sense of responsibility for the common good. If you start something, you simply like to conclude it and not leave it unfinished.

[Frank] The end of the police state and the beginning of exposing even the cultural sector to the mechanisms of the market often lead to the collapse of the value system, such as triviality supplanting quality. The Czechs seem to be relatively immune to that.

[Havel] That is true. Yet, even here the explosion of freedom and the market created an enormous amount of bad literature. That is a kind of tax for freedom. Yet it is not that serious because, on the other hand, hundreds of publishing houses have been founded and have published valuable books. I do not believe that there is a danger to culture in my country. I also think that some artists who were used to generous state subsidies and to the state paying for everything are now painting a gloomy picture and speaking of the end of Czech culture. I cannot feel it all. On the contrary, one can observe that a lot of new and interesting things are being created under the new conditions. Of course, this does not mean that we can do without regulatory instruments. Even the most liberal government can hardly wish to see the national theater converted into a Moulin Rouge.

Union Leader Warns of Workers' Radicalization

AU0904113793 Prague CTK in English 0844 GMT 8 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 8 (CTK)—If we lose control over the employees, we may be replaced by people who will simply not negotiate with the government, Czech-Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions Chairman Vladimir Petrus said in an interview with the Czech political weekly RESPEKT on April 5.

For the past two years, we have tolerated the government saying that it has observed the general agreement. But the agreement was not always observed. I know dozens of companies, among them ministries, which dissuade their employees from joining the trade unions. Other companies do not pay family allowances. As a result, the social peace may be called conditional, Petrus said.

Petrus said that genuine cooperation between trade unions and a sensible left-wing party would be possible in about ten to twelve years. The communists are for me a taboo. But this is my opinion, not that of the trade unions. Among the trade unionists there are people who adhere to the communists, he said. As far as the government is concerned, Premier Vaclav Klaus' approach is tactful and decent. His behavior has much improved over the last 18 months. Now he is fully aware of his responsibility.

The trade unions membership has declined by only one million since 1989. Some of them became entrepreneurs and employers. The union membership currently stands at four million people, Petrus said.

Petrus said that if the real wages decreased, the trade unions would insist on pay hikes, regardless of inflation.

Petrus said that the trade unions were afraid of the consequences of the law on bankruptcies (which has not yet gone into effect). We are not opposed to the bankruptcy law as we know that useless production serves no purpose. But no restructuring programs have been prepared yet, and we fear a sharp increase in unemployment. This may radicalize the situation and reduce our influence on the rank and file.

A total unemployment rate of six to eight percent is not necessarily a reason for strikes, Petrus said. But an average of ten percent means 20 percent in some regions, and this would be critical.

The current unemployment rate in the Czech Republic is about 2 percent.

Press Views Clinton-Yeltsin Summit

AU0904093793

[Editorial Report] Several Czech newspapers on 6 April publish commentaries on the U.S.-Russian summit in Vancouver; all commentaries focus on the economic aid package discussed by Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin.

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 6 April on page 30 carries a 700-word Stanislav Mundil commentary entitled "Summit in a New Style." The commentator observes that "the most frequently used term in the two presidents' statements was the word 'partnership,' which they circumspectly used instead of the term 'aid'." Mundil attributes the avoidance of the term 'aid' to domestic political considerations: While Clinton "has to proceed cautiously in releasing aid for Russia at a time when he asks the Americans to contribute with new taxes to reducing the United States' enormous budget deficit," Yeltsin "strove to avoid the impression, in view of the domestic opposition, that Russia is too dependent on Western aid."

Commenting on President Clinton's performance at the summit, Mundil says: "For the U.S. President the summit was the first foreign trip and the first appearance on the stage of big world politics. According to most observers, it was a successful debut and Clinton succeeded in dispelling previous doubts that he was an inexperienced novice to foreign policy. Nevertheless, certain doubts were raised by the virtually unconditional support that Clinton and his team had expressed for Yeltsin. Clinton and his ministers once again described Yeltsin as the sole politician in Russia who had been elected in a truly democratic fashion, in contrast to his adversaries in the Russian parliament. According to some opinions, this too unequivocal position could spell

considerable trouble for the U.S. Administration in the event of Yeltsin's failure in the upcoming referendum, which is by no means out of the question."

Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 6 April on page 9 carries an 800-word Jiri Doubrava commentary entitled "Helping Russia Is Difficult, Complicated, But Necessary." Doubrava agrees with the assessment of the Vancouver local press that the U.S. aid for Russia promised by President Clinton was only "chicken feed," given the scale of Russia's economic problems. He also believes that Russia needs a different kind of aid than what was discussed at the summit. Doubrava says: "Deliveries of specific merchandise, such as food, seem to the West to be the most feasible form of aid, but such aid can actually cause more harm than good. It is certainly tempting to rid oneself of agricultural surpluses and to believe that I have done all I could. But Russia needs something completely different. It needs aid that might be called systemic. It needs, above all, experience from banking, from the collection of taxes, from the effective management of large enterprises, from methods of tackling bankruptcies and unemployment.... The Vancouver summit has not brought much progress in this respect, at least according to what we know about it from official statements. True, it gave support to Yeltsin prior to his virtually lost struggle in the referendum, the rules of which are unjust for him, but that is all. The West has not yet come to understand that the failure of the Russian reform would always be more expensive for it than effective help for the reformers today, no matter how expensive it may be."

Prague TELEGRAF in Czech on 6 April on page 5 carries a 700-word Zuzana Selementova commentary entitled "The Importance of Having an Empty Pocket." Selementova views the Vancouver summit as "historic" in that, for the first time, it was dominated by financial issues rather than by the problems of disarmament. Discussing U.S. aid for Russia, the author warns against what she perceives as the United States' and the West's "being fixed upon only one man and only one country" in the former Soviet Union. She says that the "exclusive orientation toward Moscow" reinforces feelings of fear and isolation in the other republics of the former Soviet Union and warns that these republics' "resentment of the 'new center,' created artificially from the outside, could easily become very dangerous. The case of Ukraine, which refuses to sign the START disarmament treaty in protest against nuclear weapons on its territory being retained under Russian jurisdiction, is a clear example of this. Yet the pumping of assistance into Russia could backfire also for other reasons. Supported in its feeling of exclusivity, Moscow might be tempted to go back to its erstwhile military policy and, in general, to power politics." According to Selementova, "signs of this are appearing already, for example, in Yeltsin's enforcement of a security system that should be controlled by Moscow."

Kovac Declares Limited Amnesty for Criminals

LD1204203393 Prague CTK in English 2016 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Bratislava April 12 (CTK)—Slovak President Michal Kovac declared a limited amnesty today applying solely to minor crimes due to negligence, presidential spokesman Jozef Sitko told CTK.

Kovac, who was elected Slovak president in February and took office March 2, said that using the right given to him by the Slovak Constitution on the occasion of his election to Slovak president and with the intention to show a gesture of good will at the time of the most significant Christian feast he had decided to grant amnesty to those who had violated law unintentionally and in a less serious manner.

The amnesty applies to sentences of up to three years passed for crimes due to negligence.

The president's amnesty also makes possible granting of additional pardon, at the proposal of the justice or defence ministers, to other convicted criminals if they are old or seriously ill, pregnant women or single persons caring for two or more young children.

Zelenay Predicts No Split in Meciar Movement

AU0904115493 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 8 Apr 93 p 1

[TA SR report: "No Fundamental Split"]

[Text] Bratislava—In an interview with Slovak Television and TA SR in Bratislava yesterday, Roman Zelenay, Movement For a Democratic Slovakia deputy chairman for foreign affairs, rejected rumors about a fundamental split within the movement. He said this regarding the establishment of the Independent Club of Deputies by Milan Knazko, former Movement For a Democratic Slovakia deputy chairman, a club which eight Movement For a Democratic Slovakia deputies have joined.

According to rumors, in the days to come another split within the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia club of deputies should take place. Some 10 members (headed, reportedly, by Ivan Laluha) should join the social democratic camp, and another unspecified number of deputies should join the Christian Democratic Union. Roman Zelenay described this information as irrelevant. If Ivan Laluha were inclined toward social democracy, then—in R. Zelenay's opinion—he would have joined it before the elections—at the same time Alexander Dubcek did, with whom he very closely cooperated. "Ivan Laluha remained in the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia as its member, and participated in drafting its program," R. Zelenay said. He added that he has never heard I. Laluha saying that he would want to join the Slovak Social Democratic Party.

R. Zelenay also rejected speculations about the fact that some Movement For a Democratic Slovakia deputies could join the Christian Social Union.

HZDS Holds First News Conference Since Elections

AU1004182793 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 8 Apr 93 p 3

[TA SR report: "Shower Before Torrential Rain"]

[Text] Bratislava—L. Dolgos, For a Democratic Slovakia Movement [HZDS] deputy chairman for economic matters, said at a news conference yesterday that the chairman and other representatives of the movement were losing popularity. This is a consequence of the worsening economic and social situation in Slovakia, and the incapability of the movement to conduct constructive talks with political groups.

He also said that some government proposals regarding personnel matters are increasing uneasiness even among the HZDS members. He believes that the HZDS Political Board should deal with those issues.

HZDS representatives reacted to the formation of the Independent Club of Deputies, which was established by Milan Knazko on the soil of the National Council of the Slovak Republic. Roman Kovac stressed that he fully accepts the right of every citizen to his own opinion, but he cannot accept the passage in the declaration by the Independent Club of Deputies which mentions the violation of human rights by the HZDS or by the government. With the departure of these deputies, a new situation has arisen for the movement. The HZDS will be represented only by 66 deputies. New tasks and activities will ensue, while the efforts of the movement to establish dialogue with other political parties must be increased.

In connection with the remarks made by reporters about the minority government, deputy party chairman Zelenay said that as long as the government has the support of the majority of the deputies—at least ad hoc, case by case—we cannot talk about a minority government. When asked whether the HZDS will examine the legal validity of the mandate of the deputies who run in the elections for the HZDS and became independent, Kovac said that the Constitution of the Slovak Republic clearly states under which circumstances a deputy can lose his mandate, but the law does not apply in this particular case. He refused to compare the current situation in the Slovak Government to the situation during the government crisis. He agreed with Dolgos that within the HZDS they are coming to their senses somewhat, and they realize that one party cannot cope with all the tasks relating to the economic and political development of the country. In connection with the statement made by Vladimir Meciar at the most recent HZDS meeting—where he said "the entire burden of responsibility for the development of the Slovak Republic rests with the

HZDS"—Dolgos said that he sees no contradiction. "By the way, only an idiot does not change his opinions," he added.

When asked by NARODNA OBRODA what was true about the statement of the HZDS chairman in the HZDS Club of Deputies, in which he said that if more than five deputies join Knazko and left then he would resign as chairman, Kovac said that he did not know about Meciar making such a statement. "Of course, we were estimating the number of people who would join Knazko. I believe that our estimates were realistic and our prediction was almost on target."

When asked, again, how their meeting with the Party of the Democratic Left on 9 April could change the structure of political forces in parliament, Kovac said that the meeting with the Party of the Democratic Left had been prepared substantially before those deputies had left their club. "Of course, this question will be discussed once again at the meeting with the Party of the Democratic Left." We are going to start a series of meetings with political parties, mainly with the parliamentary ones, but also with the extra-parliamentary parties. We do not know whether agreement will be reached on a silent or open coalition—or on ad hoc cooperation—at the meeting Friday.

When asked whether the eight deputies who left the club would not be followed by other deputies, Kovac said that according to their analysis, this should not happen. More detailed information will be available by the end of the week. I believe, he said, that 66 deputies will remains in the HZDS. Roman Zelenay mentioned the fact that the HZDS proposed several functions to the Party of the Democratic Left at the level of state secretaries, and even the post of deputy prime minister for the economy. "The Party of the Democratic Left has not accepted it, and during the discussion preceding the election of the president they showed interest only in control functions, not executive ones. There are still four or five unfilled state secretary positions."

The regular HZDS briefing will take place on 14 April.

Livestock Trucks Turned Back at Hungarian Border

LD1104202993 Prague CTK in English 1959 GMT 11 Apr 93

[Text] Bratislava April 11 (CTK)—Trucks loaded with livestock, which were stuck on the Slovak-Hungarian border crossing at Rusovce-Rajka because Hungary refused to let them enter its territory, left today for the countries from which they had arrived, CTK learned from customs officers.

The order for the trucks to leave the border crossing was passed by the Director of the Slovak State Veterinary Administration, Jozef Sokol, who said there was not enough water and fodder to feed the animals.

A total of 34 trucks carrying livestock from Germany and the Netherlands to Croatia and Italy were stuck on the border from Friday [9 April] until early today.

Slovak television announced tonight that employees of the Veterinary Service are checking trucks carrying livestock, meat, milk and dairy products on Slovakia's borders with Poland, Ukraine, Hungary and Austria. They do not allow their transit if they come from the countries of the European Community (EC).

Hungary has been preventing entry of trucks with live animals, meat and dairy products since Friday, in response to the EC's decision Thursday to ban imports of these commodities from central and east European countries.

U.S. Official on Reopening of Bugging Inquiry

AU0904141493 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 7 Apr 93 p 3

["mru"-signed report: "Evidence of Bugging Said To Have Been Inconclusive"]

[Text] Bratislava—Ladislav Polka, chairman of the Defense and Security Affairs Committee in the National Council of the Slovak Republic, does not know anything about preparations for territorial troops that were mentioned by Vladimir Meciar some time ago. The parliamentary committee never discussed this issue and their preparation has been resolutely rejected by Interior Minister Jozef Tuchyna, Polka said.

Regarding the statement by the vice consul of the U.S. Embassy in Slovakia that the bugging device uncovered in the embassy building was operative [at the time of its disclosure], contrary to the Slovak side's assertions, Chairman of the Defense and Security Affairs Committee Ladislav Polka said that parliament has not been sufficiently informed about the outcome of the investigations. According to Polka, the American side was not sufficiently cooperative in investigating this criminal activity and did not submit any evidence that the vice consul mentioned. If the American side submits new evidence, then it will be possible to reopen the inquiry into this matter.

Lithuanians Want Administrative District in Sejny

LD1004192893 Warsaw PAP in English 1902 GMT 10 Apr 93

[Text] Suwalki, April 10—Polish Lithuanians who live in the far northeastern Suwalki region firmly support the idea of creating a county in Sejny, press officer of the Suwalki governor, Jacek Makarewicz said.

They claim that the 30,000-strong minority would account for 40 per cent of the county residents and could be adequately represented in local bodies. If an administration reform plan, prepared at the cabinet's office, is realized the minority will only make up 5 per cent of the big Suwalki county.

The minority's stance is supported by two cultural and social organizations, the "Borderland" foundation and the St. Casimir Lithuanian Association.

In a letter to the cabinet's office, Polish Lithuanians demand "that the former Sejny County within the limits of 1975 be reinstated" and recall that the Sejny County was prospering in the years 1956-1975.

Makarewicz said that the Suwalki authorities are interested in having more counties created in the region. He claims, however, that according to the "leaks" from Warsaw, there will be only five big counties in the Suwalki province and Sejny is not one of them.

Foreign Investment Agency Official Interviewed

PM1304102893 Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 30 Mar 93 p 4

[Interview with Andrzej Voigt, deputy chairman of the State Agency for Foreign Investment, by correspondent Halina Jelec; place and date not given]

[Text] [Jelec] We continue to be torn between two extreme fears: on the one hand, that foreign capital will buy out everything that is of any value in Poland, and, on the other hand, that foreign investors seem to give our country an excessively wide berth...

[Voigt] The whole world is currently going through the difficulties of economic recession and, on the whole, there is less capital around than can satisfy the demand for it. Consequently, it is not true that foreign capital is invading Poland from all sides. On the contrary, it is very difficult to attract it to our country.

[Jelec] The attraction of foreign investors to Poland is the major charter of your institution, the State Agency for Foreign Investment [PAIZ]. Is the agency happy to deal with any amount of foreign capital or does it set its sights exclusively on proposals for really big foreign investment?

[Voigt] We concern ourselves exclusively with large-scale projects—those which propose to put in no less than $5 million. This is consistent with our statutory objectives and our legal position. Our sole shareholder is the State Treasury, and our Board of Supervisors includes representatives of the President's Chancellery, the Office of the Council of Ministers, and the Ministries of International Economic Cooperation, Ownership Transformations [Privatization], Industry and Trade, Finance, Foreign Affairs, and Agriculture and Food Economy.

[Jelec] Are your awaited foreign investors at all aware of the agency's existence and expectations?

[Voigt] Of course. On average, we receive visits from 400-500 respectable investors each month.

[Jelec] With what results?

[Voigt] At present we are supervising the implementation of sixteen investment projects. Last week saw the launching of the two most recent projects. The combined value of the capital involved in these ventures amounts to some $300 million. This, however, does not represent the agency's entire "proceeds," because there have already been several earlier projects which we directed, supervised, and led to a stage where they are no longer under our authority. They are now being handled by various consultancy companies.

[Jelec] What type of investment projects are you handling now?

[Voigt] Mostly hotel construction. The hotels are to be situated mainly in locations serving major business centers.

[Jelec] But would your investors not have found reliable business partners in Poland without your agency's mediation? Do they really need you as intermediaries?

[Voigt] You do not really expect serious businessmen to travel the length and breadth of this, or any other, country in search of contacts and information. They need a reliable fund of information which will also find them suitable and compatible partners with which to negotiate the joint ventures they are seeking. And this is precisely where we come in. We endeavor to meet this need.

[Jelec] What is the content and range of the information you mention?

[Voigt] It provides a virtually complete overview of our economic "landscape"—for example, the economic capacity of individual regions as well as individual companies. We provide their current product range, their potential, the size and capabilities of their work forces, their financial condition, and, first and foremost, what they need the required foreign capital for.

[Jelec] How would you project the model of an ideal Polish partner to a foreign capitalist potentially interested in joint business ventures?

[Voigt] It would be that of a reasonably prosperous company—by reasonably prosperous I mean with reasonably low debt liabilities—which can offer a product with a high export potential.

[Jelec] How is the foreign capital which is already involved in joint ventures in our country distributed in terms of individual districts? How does Opole District compare with other regions in this respect?

[Voigt] Some 34 percent of all joint ventures based on foreign capital participation are concentrated in Warsaw District, while nearly 70 percent of the total number are to be found in the several cities which house most of the major business centers in Poland: in or near Gdansk, Krakow, Poznan, and Lodz. The remaining percentage is distributed more or less evenly over the entire country. Considering that there are altogether some 11,000 joint ventures based on foreign capital in Poland, and that Opole District hosts more than 230 of these, we must conclude that your district represents the national average. It must be remembered, however, that there are no truly major investment projects here—projects which could effectively change the profile of the local small business community. After all, all large investment projects are, as a matter of course, accompanied by a host of various small ventures which grow around them in satellite configurations. This type of large business venture is still absent in the Opole region.

[Jelec] Nevertheless, many enterprises based in our district have forwarded to PAIZ their offers seeking partners with whom to set up joint investment projects, have they not?

[Voigt] Of course. Some of them even stand a very good chance of reaching successful deals. I am thinking here particularly of BESEL of Brzeg Opolski. The company has attracted the interest of a very substantial U.S. investor. The investment project proposed by BESEL was one of the two projects which the investor sought out himself from all the proposals our agency had on offer. The final decision will be made across the Atlantic in a very short time.

[Jelec] Thanks to our cooperation with Samsung, the telecommunications system in the Opole region is soon to be improved. Do you believe that this will result in more interest in our region on the part of potential foreign investors?

[Voigt] I am convinced that it will. The telecommunications network is one of the essential requirements for international business cooperation, along with a sound banking infrastructure. After all, we are not talking merely about easy access to telephone communication here. It is also a question of access to information, electronic mail facility, satellite transfer of financial accounting data, and so on. Such is simply today's reality of all big international business.

[Jelec] We have had some experience with handling joint ventures based on foreign capital. This experience has not necessarily been very promising. For example, we have had cases in which the foreign partner's profits from participation in the joint venture are incomparably higher than those of the Polish side. There are foreign partners who do not invest any capital at all while making scrupulously certain that all the profits leave the country and land in his pocket; there are also those who do not observe the relevant Polish legislation...

[Voigt] You must remember that in this kind of situation everything depends on the provisions and the small print of the original contract. A businessman who sits down to negotiate and sign contracts without the assistance of a good lawyer must be prepared for the possibility of catastrophic consequences. In our experience we have also had business offers involving capital from unknown sources from companies which were completely unknown in the business market. It is obvious that, if we want to avoid nasty surprises, this sort of thing must be very carefully checked and monitored in good time. There could be all sorts of people offering all sorts of deals on each side of the transaction. They may command differing degrees of competence and use civilized or uncivilized methods of clinching business deals.

Official on U.S. Interests in Assisting Nation

AU0904091593 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 6 Apr 93 p 7

[Interview with Adrian Vilau, deputy and vice president of the National Salvation Front, by Liana Sega; place and date not given: "America, America..."]

[Excerpts] [Sega] Mr. Deputy, you returned from America recently. What were the circumstances for crossing the ocean?

[Vilau] An invitation by the U.S. Government within the framework of the USIA program. [passage omitted]

[Sega] What do Americans know about Romania?

[Vilau] Everything. A great number of researchers and law professors are interested in Romania. I have seen scores, maybe hundreds of books about Romania written from 1989 to date: about the revolution, the changes, the University Square, and the miners' incursions. Many people are trying to understand what is happening with us and in our country. Unfortunately, such a thing is not happening here. As for our problems, we have not made similar efforts to those made by the Americans in this respect. They are interested in Romania as a phenomenon.

[Sega] What about the economic area? Are the Americans coming?

[Vilau] The Americans are not going to come as long as we are waiting for them with our arms crossed. [passage omitted] They are not coming now for the simple reason that they do not want to put things in order here and they do not want to move the command system from Moscow to Washington. The Americans are going to come when we have economic, banking, and trade institutions that are compatible with theirs. They have trade problems not only with Romania. Only recently did they go to Mexico. They did not go to Brazil or Argentina. Thus, for various reasons, they did not go to countries that are located very close by from a geographical point of view and would have meant transportation facilities. All the theories that we are "located in a very interesting geographical area," that "we are in a vital military area," and that "our mountains have gates" do not constitute valid arguments for the Americans. They will come to Romania when they find honest partners who are interested in working. They will not come to tidy up our home. This we have to do ourselves by using others' experience, including the experience of the Americans.

In any case, they came a few times, but they left faster than they came because they encountered a harmful mentality, especially in state institutions. This can be translated into: "Do come and leave your bag of dollars at Otopeni Airport and then return after six months to see how things are progressing because until then we will take care of things." They do not have money to throw away; they do not spend even a single dollar needlessly because they respect it; they cannot afford to lose money and will not think of doing so. They are the first to be interested in helping us, but with information, specialists, and not by assuming greater risks than those we ourselves assume. They want to do business with us and not get involved in humanitarian actions. As a matter of fact, I think we should not think of constantly living on aid. It would be humiliating for us. And the first condition to make a deal is security. The second one is profit. And if the Americans accepted less profit at the beginning, they would never ever accept insecurity.

[Sega] Nevertheless, were they to come, what are the areas of greatest interest from their point of view?

[Vilau] They were interested in finances. This means trusts of financial investments. But, of course, it is the most risky field, just as it is the area that needs the greatest adjustments.

[Sega] What are Americans—I mean the man in the street—like?

[Vilau] There would be a great deal to say about the way they are and behave. But I think a certain attitude is characteristic of them. [passage omitted]

Everything is in its place, nothing is superfluous, nothing is lacking. And I am not referring to magnates—whom I actually never saw—but to ordinary people for whom everything functions. Nothing is too much to make people feel that they are integrated in a precise system, which "takes note of them"—in the positive sense of the word—from the moment they come to this world. And people are perfectly integrated in this system; they are aware that each of them plays an important role in making the system function properly. This is accepted by both sides, that is by the state and by the citizen. Each of the two sides has his properly defined responsibilities and rights. And from there on, only incidents, not accidents, may happen.

Nastase Discusses Visit, Bilateral Ties With Ukraine

AU1204155993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1021 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/4/1993—"I have met in Ukraine politicians who do understand the strategic importance of Romania, so there is not only a question of our wish to establish privileged ties with Ukraine, but an Ukrainian interest for such like relations," stated in an interview granted to the newspaper CRONICA ROMANA Adrian Nastase, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, who headed a delegation to Kiev. "These special relations would make an easier access to the areas populated by Romanians and would give us the opportunity to help them more. Obviously, starting from the idea of what is acceptable both for Romania and Ukraine, and that is the support for the preservation of a cultural, language, national, and religious identity of the Romanians in Ukraine. So, I believe that the image of such like relations which have started from a freezing

point and are heading to a dynamic one with well-defined joint interests, is possible and should be accepted by the political forces in both countries," added Nastase.

Referring to former Romanian territories presently inside the borders of Ukraine, Nastase opposed any attempt to force things, showing that: "For the moment we must try to do something for the Romanians in that area not to disappear. To show them that we did not forget them. This is one of the most stringent ideas. The territory does not move from its place. And some other time maybe if possible we will have to discuss [the issue of the territories]."

Showing that the visit to Ukraine had first of all a psychological profit, above all political results, the speaker of the Chamber of Deputies stressed in an interview granted to the daily newspaper TINERETUL LIBER "the fact that a meeting with the Romanian associations in Cernauti (north of Bucovina—annexed to the Soviet Union under the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact) had been included in addition to the initial schedule is a good sign."

FSN Dismisses Dragomir From Leadership Position

AU1004202293 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Apr 93 p 3

[Bogdan Costea report: "Caius Dragomir Relieved of His Position of Vice President of the National Salvation Front"]

[Text] As of 6 April, Senator Caius Traian Dragomir is no longer vice president of the National Salvation Front [FSN]. The party Executive Bureau unanimously decided that Dragomir should be relieved of his positions of FSN vice president and Foreign Policy Department chief. In connection with this decision, FSN Deputy George Stancov said: "Bearing in mind Mr. Dragomir's position, his political inertia led to this decision in the interest of the party. He did not do anything, not even honor party meetings with his presence. His policy outside the party does not have anything in common with social democracy nor with the liberalism which he speaks of so often. We thought it was better to relieve him of his position instead of keeping this position occupied by such a phantom." I asked Stancov whether this dismissal also meant that Dragomir would be expelled from the party. "No, only the national convention can decide on expulsion from the party," Stancov said.

Political Parties React to Union Protests

AU1204171693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] The Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] has faxed us a statement saying that it continues to support the economic-social reform strategy of the government and the executive branch plans to cut state subsidies [beginning 1 May], a measure that is absolutely necessary to continue the economic reform and create the conditions for general recovery.

The statement also points out that the FDSN expresses its surprise that certain trade union confederation leaders have withdrawn from the negotiating table and, quote, capriciously resorted to confrontational methods by means of street demonstrations, rallies, and marches, unquote. Such methods are bound to prolong the process of decay and stagnation of our economy, says the statement, which also expresses the party desire that the trade unions and their members will prove their restraint and wisdom and not let themselves be entangled in actions that may cause great losses in production.

The Socialist Party of Labor [PSM] has always cautioned continues to do so that the issue of cutting state subsidies should be handled carefully, PSM representatives said during a news conference today.

Cutting subsidies on agricultural products in order to eliminate profiteering is one thing, but if subsidies are cut on other products and services, such as electricity, people will hardly be able to cope with the price increases, the PSM representatives said.

Concerning the union protests and demands, PSM is backing their legitimate claims, but it opposes the use of force and demonstrations to achieve goals that may be solved at the negotiating table.

Union Holds Rally; Zelenco Comments on Demands

AU1204132093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1028 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/4/1993—A meeting [rally] organized by the Fratia Union Confederation and the National Council of Free Trade Unions in Romania (CNSLR) started today in Bucharest.

According to the statements made to the press by Miron Mitrea, president of the Fratia confederation, and by Victor Ciorbea, the president CNSLR, their major claims to which in their opinion immediate solution can be found are the establishing of a reasonable minimal wage on the economy and its guarantee, a proper relationship between wages and prices, and the ensurance of a real social protection. Also requested is a rise in pension benefits and guarantees regarding the observance of the understandings signed with the unions at an enterprise, federation, or confederation level. A large number of vehicles are blocking the streets in the Aviatorilor Square area [in Bucharest], while the traffic had been practically stopped by the long lines of vehicles heading to the Aviatorilor Square. According to Mitrea, the meeting was authorized up to the 1400 [1100 GMT].

Two-hour warning strikes were held on Monday, 12 April, by units affiliated to the Fratia confederation, the Alfa Cartel and CNSLR.

Iacob Zelenco, secretary of state and special representative of the government in the relationship with the trade unions and the employers' organization, said in a radio interview that the unions protests held on Monday, 12 April, are not linked only to the forthcoming elimination of subsidies or to the handouts or indexations due to it. The unions are presenting a more extensive range of claims which cannot be answered on the spot. Talks are furthered with those union confederations which did not withdraw from negotiations, Zelenco said, showing his hope that, in the future, all confederations will participate in dialogue.

Referring to the unions' proposals to ensure a real wage equal to 80 percent of that in October 1990, Iacob Zelenco drew attention that, on one hand, that would have meant to recover in two months what had been lost in two years and a half, while, on the other hand, that would have led to a doubling of the budget deficit.

Vacaroiu Outlines Social Protection Measures

AU1204173793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1541 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/4/1993—Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu met on April 12 representatives of pensioners' organizations, to whom he outlined the social protection measures the government planned to take for that category of the population after the subsidy cut of May 1. As of that date, he showed, the price rises with the consumer goods and services for which subsidies will be eliminated, will be 100 percent compensated, which will mean an average monthly compensation of 4,900 lei for old age and full length of service pensions. Besides, there will be a 5.8 percent indexation of pensions to cope with the rise in prices and tariffs of goods and services other than the subsidized ones.

The pensioners' representatives advanced a string of proposals concerning specific problems.

Bartholomew Arrives in Mostar, Opens Talks

LD1304100693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 13 Apr 93

[Text] American peace envoy Reginald Bartholomew has arrived in Mostar. He was received by Mate Boban, president of the Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna, Croatian Defense Council [HVO] authorities, President Jadranko Prlic, and Bruno Stojic, head of the HVO Defense Department.

A joint statement is expected after the talks.

Presidency Member Assesses Talks With Bartholomew

AU1204195093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Statement by Mirko Pejanovic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, after talks with U.S. envoy Reginald Bartholomew in Sarajevo on 12 April—recorded]

[Text] We are in total agreement over the question of finalizing the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The ambassador asked us to remain firm and persistent with the peace plan that we have signed, while we asked that the ambassador—that is, that the international community, the United States and its associates, particularly Russia—persist in finalizing the peace process as soon as possible. We also asked the ambassador to do everything in his power to stop the offensive on Srebrenica, to stop the suffering of the civilian population. We asked him to try to get Mr. Morillon's return to Srebrenica, where he could help stop the offensive. Otherwise, the entire peace process could be endangered.

Sarajevo Shelled; U.S. Envoy Arrives

LD1204160393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Report from Sarajevo by Ranko Mavrak]

[Excerpts] The apparent lull in Sarajevo was interrupted today by sudden chetnik artillery strikes against civilian facilities in the town. The town center was hit by two shells in the morning and by nine more in the early afternoon. Bascarsija, Gazin Han, and Sedrenik in the Stari Grad municipality also suffered artillery attacks. The enemy also shelled the district of Buca Potok in the Novo Sarajevo municipality. It has so far been reported that one person was killed and two were seriously wounded in the attacks.

The situation is particularly difficult today in the free Vogosca area. Serb units are opening fire on this part of the town with all available weapons, including cannons of largest calibres. [passage omitted]

General Wahlgren, the main commander of the blue helmets in the former Yugoslavia, decided to hold talks right away with chetnik General Ratko Mladic, who has arrived at Sarajevo airport. Wahlgren conveyed to Mladic his concern over the continued fighting in eastern Bosnia. The commander of the army of the so-called Serb republic promised that the forces under his command would halt their combat activities. Of course, not many people can believe this promise. [passage omitted]

Reginald Bartholomew, special U.S. envoy to the talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina, arrived in Sarajevo this afternoon. Bartholomew immediately went to the talks with [Bosnian] Presidency members Tatjana Ljujic-Mijatovic and Mirko Pejanovic. He is also expected to meet other government officials and representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army general staff.

U.S., French, German Planes Drop Aid to Srebrenica

LD1304084693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0805 GMT 13 Apr 93

[Text] Eight cargo planes belonging to the U.S., French, and German air forces have air-dropped some 48 tonnes of emergency aid over the besieged Muslim town of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia during last night. In all, some 600 tonnes of aid have been dropped over eastern Bosnia since the beginning of the operation on 28 February.

No Incidents on First Day of NATO No-Fly Operation

LD1204184293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1807 GMT 12 Apr 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Bileca, April 12 (TANJUG)—NATO's operation "Deny Flight," aimed at enforcing a United Nations no-fly zone over Bosnia-Herzegovina, began on schedule at 2 P.M. (1200 GMT) on Monday, and no incidents were reported in the territory controlled by Bosnian Serbs, it was reported in Bileca.

NATO fighters flew over the entire territory of Eastern Bosnia several times, the Bosnian Serb Army command in Bileca said.

Only sporadic provocations by Croat and Moslem infantry were reported in the Herzegovina battlefront on Monday.

In the northern part of Herzegovina, however, the Moslem forces, encouraged by the beginning of NATO operation, launched a fierce attack on Serb positions, the report said.

The infantry attack began from the direction of Gorazde and was aimed at Visegrad. Some units proceeded towards Foca in Eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina. Serb troops repulsed the attack, the report said, and the front lines remained at the same positions.

UN Aid Trucks Depart Bratunac for Srebrenica

LD1304123193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1049 GMT 13 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Bratunac, 13 Apr (TANJUG)—Following an unhindered and safe journey along the left bank of the Drina River and a regular check before entering Bratunac, a convoy of 11 UN High Commissioner for Refugees trucks left for Srebrenica at about 1200 [1000 GMT] today. Five trucks carrying humanitarian aid and one empty truck are headed for Srebrenica. The five other empty vehicles remained near Zuti Most, near Bratunac.

It is planned that all 11 trucks will bring Muslim civilians from Srebrenica to Tuzla on their return journey. [passage omitted]

Aid Convoy Reaches Srebrenica

AU1304135493 Paris AFP in English 1327 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Sarajevo, April 13 (AFP)—A UN relief convoy reached the eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica Tuesday and began evacuating hundreds of refugees, including victims of a Serbian bombardment that killed 15 people and wounded 90, UN officials here said. UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman John McMillan said shortly after 3:00 p.m. (1300 GMT) that the convoy, with 800 people aboard—150 of them injured or sick—were approaching the front line between the mainly Moslem Bosnian army and Serb forces on the way to Bratunac, 10 kilometres (six miles) north of Srebrenica. The convoy was headed to Tuzla, 90 kilometres (60 miles) to the northwest of Srebrenica.

Casualties in Latest Srebrenica Attack Reported

AU1304113193 Paris AFP in English 1121 GMT 13 Apr 93

[Text] Sarajevo, April 13 (AFP)—The United Nations expressed outrage on Tuesday over a Serbian bombardment of the eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica that killed 56 people, 15 of them children.

"I personally hope that he burns in the hottest corner of hell," said U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Sarajevo operations chief Larry Hollingworth of the officer who gave the order to fire in Monday's attack.

A relief convoy was heading for Srebrenica on Tuesday to evacuate Moslem civilians who received serious wounds.

Seventy-three people were badly wounded, according to UNHCR workers in Srebrenica, and another 17 received less serious wounds. Some were taken to hospital by ox-cart, others in U.N. armoured personnel carriers. A further 16 wounded were brought into the hospital from outlying areas.

"We can expect that many of the wounds will be fatal," said World Health Organisation doctor Simon Mardel, who used a razor-blade for operations in Srebrenica earlier this year.

He said the hospital was now well equipped with anaesthetics and medical supplies, but that "the surgical team is small and operating in very much a frontline situation."

The UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) was Tuesday studying the logistics of air evacuations. It has French Puma and British Sea King helicopters based in the southern Croatian city of Split which can be equipped for medical evacuations and which could reach Srebrenica "in a matter of hours" once a green light was given, according to UNPROFOR spokesman Barry Frewer.

He said their safety would have to be assured.

The UNHCR is planning to take the wounded through the front lines to the bigger Moslem-held town of Tuzla, 90 kilometres (60 miles) to the nothwest, which has better hospital facilities.

UNHCR spokesman John McMillan said the 12-truck convoy, with aid aboard six of them, had left Belgrade and reached the Drina River border between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia where the trucks are inspected by Serb troops in the Bosnian-Serb held town of Zvornik.

He said the UNHCR officials in Srebrenica reported that the night and early morning were "quiet."

"It appears that in their pathological drive to acquire territory, the Serbs are willing to kill anybody to achieve their ends," McMillan said.

Izetbegovic Appeals To Islamic Countries for Help

LD1204202993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2002 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Cairo, April 12 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic, who is touring the Gulf countries, on Monday urged the Islamic world to help the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina, saying the victory of his forces will "come from Allah."

Izetbegovic arrived in the United Arab Emirates on Monday evening after ending his visit to Saudi Arabia.

"I call on all Islamic countries to provide all possible help to save the Bosnian (Moslem) people from total annihilation," Izetbegovic said upon arriving in Abu Dhabi. He said the "victory will come from Allah" despite the "forces of evil" which, as he put it, wanted to liquidate the Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Observers in Cairo believe Izetbegovic has decided to play the Islamic card to the end, probably frustrated in his abortive attempts to have the Western forces intervene against the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Izetbegovic was on Saturday awarded Saudi Arabia's King Faysal prize for his contribution to the causes of Islam and his commitment to Jihad—the Islamic holy war against unbelievers.

Serb Leader Accuses Muslims of Fresh Offensives

LD1204223293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2136 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—The Muslim army has undertaken fresh offensive actions in order to influence future UN Security Council decisions by prolonging the war, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb republic, said tonight. In a statement for the public, carried by the SRNA news agency, Karadzic specified that the Muslim forces have launched an offensive near Bihac, then one on Foca from Gorazde, and one on Skelani from Srebrenica.

Karadzic stressed: "While the Serb side is making efforts to preserve the cease-fire, Muslim forces are trying to prolong the war." So they are staging fireworks in Sarajevo in order to show the world and U.S. Special Envoy Reginald Bartholomew that there is no truce, he said. The general staff of the Army of the Serb republic issued a statement this evening in connection with the latest Muslim offensive. The statement says that 27 Serb fighters were killed and 26 wounded today.

It stresses that there were numerous cease-fire violations, that artillery and infantry attacks are unabating and even escalating, and that new flash-points of crisis are being activated in areas held by Muslim forces.

On the other hand, Croatian planes are flying over the Serb republic airspace, and Croatian forces are on the move and regrouping for fresh attacks, the statement says.

Cease-fire violations are most frequent in the areas of Doboj, Gradacac, Teslic, the Una valley, Kupres, Glamoc, Sarajevo, Brcko, Majevica, Srebrenica, and especially in the areas of Skelani, Zvornik, and Olovo.

Karadzic on NATO Flights, Bartholomew Visit

AU1204163493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Telephone interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic, by unidentified studio announcer—live]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Mr. Karadzic, good day to you.

[Karadzic] Good day.

[Announcer] You have heard General Milovanovic. Perhaps we can make a little joke and say that only birds remain in the Bosnian sky.

[Karadzic] That is true. There are some ugly birds in the sky, and we are following them closely. They usually fly in pairs. We are following their flights, but it is all just a huge demonstration of power, and an attempt by NATO to show that it is still in the game, even though it is absolutely unnecessary for it to appear in this sky.

[Announcer] We have already said that this is the first intervention by NATO in any combat zone since it was founded in 1949, and on this day, 12 April 1949.

[Karadzic] We believe that this is all part of the pressure exerted on the Serbs to sign something that is unacceptable to them, something that must not be signed. On the other hand, I am sure that we are a testing ground for the show of muscle to all other countries in the world, for frightening any other country that would dare try preserve its dignity and its interests. I believe that we have the bad fate of being placed in a geopolitically unfavorable position, while at the same time being a proud people, who are allowing the great powers to flex their muscles and show their strength. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Mr. Karadzic, after all these war games, let us mention the diplomatic ones. The arrival of the U.S. envoy Bartholomew is expected. You will meet him Thursday in Belgrade. What do you expect will come of that?

[Karadzic] Churkin will probably be there before him. Bartholomew has announced a meeting with me for Thursday afternoon [15 April]. To tell you the truth, I can expect just about anything from the Americans because they are rather a pragmatic people, and they can come up with some new views, some very brave ideas for the solution to the crisis. I am not sure that the Vance plan is the bible for everyone in the world any more. It is said more and more often that the Vance plan could be the only one, but it is also unachievable. It is not without alternatives, and it could be modified in various ways. It is very possible that the meeting with Bartholomew will be of crucial importance, since the United States is capable of bringing about a U-turn for pragmatic reasons, a U-turn that would be acceptable to all sides, including the Serbian side. [passage omitted]

Serb Commander Says 12 NATO Planes in Flight

AU1204155893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1433 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Telephone interview with General Manojlo Milovanovic, deputy commander of the Serbian republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in Banja Luka, by unidentified studio announcer in Belgrade—live]

[Text] [Announcer] Good day, General.

[Milovanovic] Good day.

[Announcer] Let me ask you the same question. The Deny Flight operation started, as was announced at 1200 GMT, that is at 1445 local time, we have just heard. Tell us precisely—have NATO planes been spotted in the Bosnian sky and in what numbers?

[Milovanovic] At the moment there are about 12 planes in the Bosnian sky. They are flying in groups. The first group flew over the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina at 1415 in the direction of Zadar-Jajce-Grahovo and back. The second group flew in the direction of Lastovo-Mostar-Jablanica, the third group Split-Grahovo-Kljuc-Jajce-Sarajevo and back, sorry, Sarajevo-Kalinovik-Mostar-Jablanica-Konjic-Trebinje, and so on.

The interesting thing here is that all the flights are taking place so far over the territory controlled by the Croatian Defense Council forces. There are very few points adjoining the territory controlled by the Serbian republic forces. The altitude of these flights is 7,500 meters or more, while the speed is over 900 kilometers per hour.

[Announcer] Can you tell us anything more at the moment?

[Milovanovic] Well, we are carrying out significant activities, that is, a zone registered in the region of the island (?Zirje)-Sibenik-Trogir. [sentence as heard] We believe that it is one of their planes for guidance [navodjenje], that is, a plane with instruments for reconnaissance, observation, and so on. I do not think it is an AWACS [airborne warning and control system], but some other local [word indistinct].

[Announcer] General, it has been said time and again that this operation is unnecessary and risky, and it has also been said many times before that the Bosnian Serbs will not trigger any incidents. That could be done by the Muslim and the Croat side, however. We have just heard that they are flying over the territory controlled by Croats.

[Milovanovic] We see this operation in the context of the previous operation, the airdrop one. This is in fact the second phase in the violation of the air space of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. The aim of the first, the airdrop operation, was to film our positions, to film the corridors, the landscape, and to prepare a good basis for the flights of the fighter planes. It was also used for humanitarian purposes. The second phase, since it is being carried out at high altitude and top speed, is to train the NATO pilots to fly over the Bosnian mountains. We expect the third phase to be the lowering, that is dropping the altitude of the flights, and that is when incidents can happen.

The Serbian republic army has been issued an order, and has even practiced as such, not to open fire, not to provoke anyone. We expect the provocations to come primarily from the Muslim side, but the Croatian side cannot be totally ruled out because since the no-fly zone was introduced, the Croatian planes, have been violating daily the air space over the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Announcer] General, the news we are receiving indicates that no provocations are expected now, since, as you yourself say, they now have to complete their goals of reconnaissance, filming, and everything else.

[Milovanovic] We still expect provocations around 14 or 15 April, that is, we expect provocations to arouse the Security Council session, so as to provoke the Serbian side, that is, to force it into signing the Vance-Owen plan. [sentence as heard]

[Announcer] Thank you. What else can you tell us at the moment, General?

[Milovanovic] The Serbs will just carry on with their business as usual. They will defend their territories, and liberate more, and if NATO has oil to spare then it can chase its own tail in the Bosnia-Herzegovina sky.

[Announcer] Thank you, general.

Srebrenica Muslims Accused of 'Stagemanaged' Attacks

LD1204212293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2016 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—Muslim extremists from Srebrenica undertook new offensives last night and today in which they killed 19 and wounded 14 Serb soldiers, the information service of the General Staff of the Army of the Serb Republic [Bosnia-Herzegovina] [VRS] said in a statement this evening.

The statement, made available to TANJUG, stresses that Muslim extremists, using the truce, launched a very strong attack on the positions of the VRS and the Serb territory in the area of Skelani during the last night and today.

Apart from the casualties, the already-damaged Serb villages suffered new destruction and material damage, the statement says.

The information service of the general staff of the VRS has said that at the same time the Muslims stagemanaged an artillery attack on Srebrenica, by throwing explosive devices, in order to cause new accusations by the international public and media and to force a UN Security Council decision on deploying peacekeeping forces in the town.

According to the statement, the artillery attack on Srebrenica which was stagemanaged by the Muslims aims at maintaining constant pressure on the world institutions and international public opinion.

"By using a false media picture of an alleged threatened position of the Muslims in Srebrenica, the Muslims are trying to cause radical internationalization of the conflict."

The statement adds that the Muslim forces have been violating the agreed truce in former Bosnia-Herzegovina for days, particularly in the area of Srebrenica.

This, as well as a nonarrival of their Commander Sefer Halilovic to today's meeting at Sarajevo airport (the second meeting initiated by the commander of the Serb forces, General Ratko Mladic), proves that the Muslim military-political leadership does not want to give up the military option, the statement emphasizes.

Serbs Refuse To 'Tolerate' EC Observers

LD1204220393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2112 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Apr, (TANJUG)—The Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzcegovina] does not tolerate EC observers on its territory, since it has already accepted UN peace forces, Assembly Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik told TANJUG over the phone tonight following his talks with Arne Faltheim, the head of Regional EC Observer Mission in Belgrade [name and title as received].

Krajisnik and Faltheim discussed in Pale today the EC's demand that its observers be deployed in a number of towns in the Serbian republic.

"The EC has repeatedly addressed the leadership of the Serbian republic, demanding that its observers be deployed in Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Nevesinje, and some other towns and explaining that it wants to help the Serbian side to provide more unbiased information and to mediate in some operations, for example, prisoner exchanges," Krajisnik said.

In his words, the Serbian side cannot understand why the EC should continue to mediate, since the conference on the former Bosnia-Herzegovina has been placed under UN authority.

"I reminded my counterparts that the Assembly of the Serbian republic had rejected this demand at its session of 8 January, airing a number of remarks about the EC's biased and one-sided approach," Krajisnik said. "However, they demanded to attend a session of the parliament to explain their demands."

Whether EC representatives will be given this opportunity will be known following further consultations within the leadership, Krajisnik says.

Serbs Capture Muslim Stronghold in Sarajevo

LD1204195893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1922 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—Fighters of the Kosevo [Serb] brigade have since this afternoon been in control of a Muslim forces stronghold in Sarajevo—Elevation 703, in the area of Slatina, two or three km north of the Kosevo stadium, SRNA has found out from the Serb military sources in Lukavica.

A fierce artillery and infantry attack by the Muslim formations started early this morning in this area of the Sarajevo battlefield, followed by an artillery barrage from Sedrenik, Kobilja Glava, and Sip, when over 100 mortar shells of all calibers fell on the Serb positions in the responsibility zone of the Kosevo brigade, SRNA says.

Serb fighters were forced to reply fiercely about noon [1000 GMT], and in a counterattack they managed to penetrate the Muslim lines and take the first emplacements on Elevation 703, where the Serb defense positions have been situated since the early evening, SRNA says.

Halilovic Protests Enemy Offensive to Wahlgren

AU1204142093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Sefer Halilovic, commander of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Armed Forces, has lodged another protest with General Wahlgren, commander of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] for former Yugoslavia, reminding the general that the offensive against the free territory of Srebrenica is continuing with unabated intensity.

The letter says that yesterday the aggressor launched a combined artillery and infantry onslaught on Brezovica and Skenderovici from the direction of (?Sakovica) and (?Kegovo). The aggressor had strong artillery support from the Serbian [word indistinct] position in the region of Vrhpolje. Tanks were used in this attack. The second wave of attack came from the village of Osmace toward the villages of Skenderovici and Zeleni Jadar. Strong infantry and armored forces and heavy artillery support were used. The region of Potocare and Lipari were shelled with a recoilless gun in Kaolin, and tanks from Zuti Most.

The letter from Halilovic to Wahlgren adds that artillery was used against all the defense lines, particularly around (?Suceska). Four people were killed and nine wounded, while nine more civilians died of illness and starvation. The villages of Mosevici and [word indistinct] where several civilians were murdered, were burned to the ground.

Last night and this morning the aggressor fired on all the defensive positions, particularly in (?Vikari), (?Budim), (?Suceska), Skenderovici, and Potocari. This is described in the letter from Halilovic to Wahlgren.

Muslims Reportedly Breach Cease-Fire

LD1204201293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1955 GMT 12 Apr 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Bratunac, April 12 (TANJUG)—Moslem forces in the region of Srebrenica in Eastern Bosnia on Monday continued artillery and small arms attacks on Bosnian Serb positions in neighbouring Bratunac.

TANJUG's reporter learned from the Bosnian Serb Army command in Bratunac that Moslems on Monday attacked in the region of Potocari, Mocevici, Zeleni Jadar, Osmace and Zuti Most (half-way between Srebrenica and Bratunac).

The Srebrenica Moslems attacked the Bosnian Serb positions in the region of Skelane in Eastern Bosnia. TANJUG's reporter learned from the Bosnian Serb Army sources that the Serb defense line had been moved by several kilometres. Two Serb soldiers were reported killed and seven were wounded.

Breaching the cease-fire agreement in the Srebrenica region, which took effect at 2 p.m. (1600 GMT) on Saturday [10 April], Moslems are trying to infiltrate terrorist groups in the region between Bratunac and Skelani, the Bosnian Serb Army said.

The Serb side has indisputable evidence that the cease-fire breaching had been ordered by Moslem force commander Sefer Halilovic, the Bosnian Serb Army command reported.

The Serb side on Sunday warned that the Moslem leadership had prepared a new plan for a media satanization of Serbs. The Moslem forces in the region of Srebrenica plan to launch a large-scale offensive and accuse the Serb side of breaching the cease-fire and of killing Moslem civilians.

This would, according to the plan, arouse sympathy of the international community and induce a U.N. Security Council's decision to bring UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to Srebrenica.

The Serb sources in Bratunac said the Serb side repulsed all Moslem attacks when lives of Serb soldiers were endangered, but that it was refraining from full-scale operations in reply to the fierce Moslem attacks.

Muslims Block Travnik by Erecting Barricades

LD1204181393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1644 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, April 12 (TANJUG)—Moslem extremists blocked Travnik (Central Bosnia) on Monday morning, by putting up barricades at the approaches to the town. They stopped Bosnian Croat soldiers, disarmed and maltreated them, said Croatian Radio in Zagreb.

Travnik is controlled by Bosnian Croat forces. Under the Vance- Owen map this province has a Moslem-Croat authority. The seizing of political and military authority in this province is the reason for the clash between allies in the battle against Bosnian Serbs.

The situation in Travnik is very tense, and UN Protection Force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) have been informed, said Croatian Radio.

Fire was opened on a column of armoured vehicles of the UNPROFOR British battalion on Monday from Borovi Hill behind the old part of Travnik where Moslems units hold positions, said Croatian Radio.

Serbs Reportedly Refuse UN Entry Into Srebrenica

AU1204143693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Report by Zoran Pirolic from Sarajevo airport]

[Text] Just as could have been expected, the latest round of talks at the airport between the representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the aggressor side did not take place. The representatives of our army did not arrive for the talks because of the continuing attacks on Srebrenica and eastern Bosnia.

General Lars-Eric Wahlgren, commander of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] for the former Yugoslavia, held talks with Mladic, commander of the aggressor army, and was again given assurances that the cease-fire would be observed.

Shannon Boyd, spokeswoman for the UNPROFOR Command, told reporters that there was talk about deploying Canadian troops in Srebrenica, but that no progress was made on that issue. The aggressor side will simply not allow UNPROFOR soldiers into that [word indistinct] town. The UNPROFOR Command, according to her, will try and bring the representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the aggressor's side to the negotiating table, maybe as early as today.

At the moment, however, the chances of that happening are very slim indeed.

Muslims Reportedly Fire on British Vehicles

LD1204141793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] At around 0800 GMT today Muslim extremists put up barricades on the approaches to Travnik on the road from Vitez and Zenica, the command of the Travnik brigade of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] has said in a statement. Representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army are willing to do everything to remove the barricades, but by 0945 GMT it had not been done. Members of the HVO have been stopped, disarmed, and maltreated and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] representatives have been informed about the tense situation in Travnik, it has been learned.

A column of tanks [kolona tenkova] of the British battalion in the UNPROFOR was shot at from above Travnik's old town section early this morning, the command of the Travnik brigade of the HVO has reported. This area is very close to the Muslim forces headquarters and is under the responsibility of the Travnik units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

Belgrade Radio Reports Krajina Under Attack

AU1104152293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Apr 93

[Report by Danko Peric from Knin]

[Excerpts] The headquarters of the Serbian army of Krajina has issued a statement saying that the Krajina positions and the civilian targets have been exposed to attacks along the entire line of the northern Dalmatian front. [passage omitted]

According to the information from the war presidency of the Benkovac commune, the Croatian Army has burned the Serbian villages of Smokovic, Islam Grcki, and Krasic, which it had occupied on 22 January to the ground. Over 8,000 hectares of the most fertile soil has been burned around these villages, which represents one third of all arable land in Benkovac. It is still quiet in the Lika area. [passage omitted]

There are quiet demonstrations today in Slunj. The demonstrations are to mark the unacceptability of Security Council Resolution 815, that the Serbian Krajina is a constituent part of the Republic of Croatia.

Jarcevic: Army Actions Put Geneva Talks in Question

LD1204145393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1256 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Knin, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—Slobodan Jarcevic, minister of foreign affairs of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], today sent a letter to David Owen, cochairman of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, informing him that the latest moves of the Croatian Army and authorities put into question his recent promises made in Geneva.

Jarcevic reminds Lord Owen that his proposal on the cessation of hostilities between the RSK and Croatia will, as was promised in Geneva, be on the agenda of the RSK Assembly session to be held on 20 April in Okucani. Cedric Thornberry, head of the UN Protection Force's [UNPROFOR] civilian affairs, has been invited to attend the session.

Meanwhile, Jarcevic informs Lord Owen, the Croatian Army has burned down houses in the Serb villages of Kasic, Islam Grcki and Smokovic. This, the letter says, makes impossible the realization of your promises that evicted Serbs will return to their villages.

This, Jarcevic stresses, is even further proof that the international community and the United Nations have not taken adequate measures against Croatia, which is an aggressor whose crimes have not yet found any room in UN documents.

A statement by Stipe Mesic, president of the Croatian parliament to the Croatian paper GLOBUS to the effect that UNPROFOR will cede to Croatia the currently occupied areas of the RSK, shows that Croatia behaves as the UN's protege.

All this, Jarcevic stresses, puts into serious question the peace negotiations in Geneva, and increases the suspicion of the United Nations and UNPROFOR's good intentions among the Serb nation in RSK.

Secret Serb-Croat Accord 'Intentionally' Disclosed

93BA0829B Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 pp 5-6

[Article and interviews with Gerhard Fischer, head of civilian affairs for United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in Sector West, and Gen. Carlos Maria Zaballa, former UNPROFOR commander for Sector West, by Sasa Lekovic; date and place not given: "Closely Guarded Secret of Croat-Serb Agreement in Daruvar Intentionally Disclosed!]

[Text] *In an interview with GLOBUS, Gerhard Fischer, the UNPROFOR chief for civilian affairs in Sector West, reveals for the first time the closely guarded official secret of how Serb and Croat representatives, sworn to absolute silence, signed a secret agreement on opening the highway through Okucani and on the return of all exiles in western Slavonia.*

The report on the secret signing of the agreement between Serbs and Croats, in UNPROFOR's Doljani barracks near Daruvar, could not be published, according to the original agreement, because of the personal safety of the Serb signers!; the most radical Okucani Serbs have already tried to assassinate Veljko Dzakula and Dusan Ecimovic, immediately after the signing of the agreement; according to unconfirmed reports, Serb representatives even visited President Tudjman a few days later!

Sasa Lekovic, who was personally present at the secret meetings as an interpreter, reports on the negotiations between Croats, Serbs, and UN representatives.

The man rubbed his eyes once again and then glanced at his wristwatch. He had recently bought it with the money that he had been receiving for several months working for UNPROFOR. That day, he had come to work at the "Polom" barracks in Doljani, several kilometers south of Daruvar—the headquarters of the Canadian battalion. In the group of people walking toward the commander's building he recognized some of the leading UNPROFOR people in Sector West, the government commissioners in Daruvar and Pakrac—Tomislav Stefanovic and Vladimir Delac—but also some people whom he had seen on TV. But he was not really sure who they were. One of them was certainly some minister. Yes, he was a member of the government of the Republic of Croatia. The other he had seen at news conferences, in uniform. But at the time he had had a beard. What really shocked him that day at "Polom" was the appearance of Veljko Dzakula, the director of Forestry Service in Pakrac

before the war (where he himself had worked for a while), but also the chairman of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party]—both of Pakrac and of all of Slavonia and Baranja. Thus, the man who started as the SDS ideologist only to become, during the war, the "president of the Oblast Council of Western Slavonia" and the "vice prime minister of the government of the Serbian Republic of Krajina." He had just read in the newspaper that Dzakula had been dismissed by his own people, together with Dusan Ecimovic, the "minister of information." Now he recognized him as well. He remembered his balding head with eyeglasses when the newspapers reported on the unsuccessful opening of the highway, only last summer. He glanced at his watch again, and made a note of the date: 18 February 1993.

When the motley group split up several hours later, the people from Zagreb took one copy, the UNPROFOR people another copy, and the "Okucani people" a third copy of an agreement containing 13 signatures. They were the signatures of the "top people" of Daruvar, Pakrac, Grubisno Polje, Novska, and Nova Gradiska Opstinas, the signatures of six Okucani "Krajinans," and two signatures by witnesses to this agreement, the commander of UNPROFOR in Sector West, Gen. Zaballa, and the head of the UNPROFOR civilian section in the sector, Gerhard Fischer. Above the signatures, the text agreed to was as follows:

a) (to come tomorrow)
b) The free movement of private trade by road, including the Zagreb-Belgrade "highway." Subsequent negotiations will cover commercial transport as well;
c) Allowing for the repair of railroad tracks along the Novska-Nova Gradiska route;
d) Repair of the telecommunication system (in accordance with the results of a preliminary survey of the situation conducted in August 1992 with representatives of both sides);
e) The establishment of a joint commission for normalizing the life of citizens in the UNPA [United Nations Protected Areas], with special emphasis on the reexamination and later the reestablishment of social activities, health care, education, and sports activities;
f) Undisturbed and regular meetings at check points under UNPROFOR supervision;
g) Allowing for the return of all exiles;
h) Permitting civilians residing on either side of the dividing line to work on their property (it is especially important and urgent right now that farmers be guaranteed access to their crops during the harvest, and later throughout the year);
i) Meetings of representatives of local authorities in order to discuss methods of future cooperation;
j) Allowing for the placement of containers, in accordance with the concluded agreement;
l) A joint commission will be formed to prepare for the execution and follow-up of all above points.

Veljko Dzakula, who recently "remembered" that there are Serbs in Osijek, Karlovac, Gospic, Sisak, and Zadar, so that he is not quite sure that "borderlands" will not emerge there as well, signed the agreement with representatives of the Croatian authorities—even saying that he is ready, before long, to play soccer with Croats! But no one should be deceived by this. In the last issue of GLOBUS, we warned that Dzakula is an intelligent man who knows when it is high time to save his own skin. However, the conditions are such that one of the "Krajinan" Serbs most hated by loyal Serb citizens of Croatia is currently playing the role of peacemaker! It is not important whether he is doing this expecting, perhaps, the post of local "boss" in the hoped-for western Slavonian Serb "autonomy" (but nevertheless within the framework of the Croatian state) or for some other reasons. It is a fact, however, that local representatives of the Croatian authorities have had a hard time explaining to their fellow citizens why they even signed the agreement with Dzakula and company. Thus, it should come as no surprise that the majority of the participants in the meeting on the Croatian side are shrouded in silence. Even Gerhard Fischer elegantly failed to hear a question about the "latest results of negotiations in Sector West" posed to him only several hours after the signing of the agreement, in the regular weekly UNPROFOR broadcast on Radio Daruvar.

Still, someone was unable (or unwilling) to let all this remain a secret. The top man in Nova Gradiska Opstina, Zdravko Sokic, immediately told all on a local radio program. The participants in the meeting who listened contend that he said precisely that which had not been agreed to! We do not know whether this action on his part, which Serbs in Okucani and the surrounding area could also hear without any problem, was the reason for this, but VJESNIK on 25 February ran an unusually prominent article that "exposed" the Daruvar agreement, citing unidentified "reliable sources." The next day, the same newspaper published a "copy of part of the Daruvar Agreement with signatures."

But it is interesting that this alleged "copy" was actually patchwork, composed of parts of three pages of the agreement! But in the process a mistake slipped by the "composer." In cutting he somewhere lost the first point, a).

Once all of this had been published, there was no longer any reason for GLOBUS journalists to join in the "conspiracy of silence" about the document that had been published in the newspaper, despite what had been agreed to.

Some of the local Croatian signers only learned of the publication of the document in question from GLOBUS journalists. Until it was published in the newspaper, even the head of the Daruvar Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], Fabrice Gossen, knew nothing about this document, even though it is the UNHCR that is responsible for organizing the return of exiles!

Thus, after all this, Gerhard Fischer, the civilian head of UNPROFOR in Sector West, could no longer refuse GLOBUS's insistence that we discuss this subject.

[Fischer] We organized a meeting at which an 11-point agreement was signed. They were all points that we had discussed for these eight to 10 months in connection with various actions to repair the infrastructure and normalize the situation in the Sector. Both sides agreed to cooperate in the future. This was an agreement on joint activities. That is the essence. But I must add that one signature is not here, and that is the signature of President Milas.

[Lekovic] Why?

[Fischer] I do not know. You will have to ask him.

[Lekovic] Are you trying to say that his signature should have been there because he was present at the meeting?

[Fischer] Mr. Milas was present at the meeting, but did not sign. The signatures on the Croatian side belong to representatives of what are now already former opstinas in Sector West: Daruvar, Pakrac, Grubisno Polje, Novska, and Nova Gradiska. Mr. Milas is not an opstina president, and presumably that is why he did not sign. But he was at the meeting. That is what I am trying to say.

[Lekovic] Would the document not have had greater import if it had been signed by Mr. Milas, as vice prime minister of Croatia and chairman of the State Commission for Cooperation with UNPROFOR?

[Fischer] You will have to ask him. I have nothing to say about that.

[Lekovic] Why was it necessary for the information on the meeting and the signing of the agreement to remain a secret?

[Fischer] We did not hide anything. But most of all, it was agreed that both sides discuss many issues that are supposed to help the people of this region. For example, the opening of the highway and of the railroad is extremely important to communication. These were not political issues. This simply involved the idea that everything being discussed be done in the near future. That is why it was agreed that there be no journalists present, nor that there be any public statements.

[Lekovic] Do you expect that the points agreed to will become a reality in the near future?

[Fischer] We must be optimistic, because otherwise we would not have organized these meetings. The goal is to normalize the situation as soon as possible.

[Lekovic] In that case, is it not unusual that such a document, with 11 very important points, was signed by so many people, but that there is no deadline for its execution?

[Fischer] Many people must be involved in the implementation of this agreement. I have a feeling that if the agreed-to confidentiality of this document—to which all the participants in the meeting consented—had been observed, then all the movement toward normalization would have gone much faster. I must accuse someone from the Croatian Government, who did not play according to the rules consented to concerning the agreement. My feeling, and this is also my interpretation, is that someone in the Croatian Government was not happy about these overtures, so that information on the meeting was made public. That will have consequences for the people who signed the document on behalf of the territory controlled by the Serbs, because they could have major problems with their superiors in Knin. I will be completely frank with you: I think that we will have to work hard in order to get these people back at the same table and continue the discussion on progress. Once again I emphasize that I am not talking about political issues, but rather about things that must be done in order for the UNPROFOR presence to have meaning, and that is precisely what is provided for in these 11 points.

[Lekovic] Obviously this is a significant document that can have a far-reaching effect not only on the situation in Sector West, but also in all of Croatia, and even throughout the territory of the former Yugoslavia....

[Fischer] Yes. But there are many people who want to obstruct, to undermine, progress. The opening of the highway, the repair of the railroad track, the return of people, their involvement in working on all these things—these are clearly positive steps. This is normalization. But as I said, various elements on both sides would rather see the project fail!

[Lekovic] The document has been published, and now there is no turning back. What will happen now, in concrete terms?

[Fischer] This is an agreement on cooperation. I do not think that what has been published will invalidate it. Absolutely not. But we will be confronted with various delaying maneuvers, foot-dragging, in implementing what was agreed to.

[Lekovic] Some of the Serbs who signed the document have already been targets of assassination attempts by "hard-line" Serbs in the occupied territory. Will UNPROFOR do anything to avoid this in the future?

[Fischer] My impression is that the general rule is that people who deviate from the main political line are treated poorly. But I think that all these people who are part of the effort to establish cooperation with the other side are strong people and that they have contributed to the evolution of the situation. They saw that people are hurting, that one side is "playing off" the other, and that is the reason that I think that they will continue trying to cooperate. But I must emphasize clearly: We are not

talking about a return of people that would mean unconditionally handing this territory over to Croatian authorities. Most of all this is an effort to engage in serious dialogue on how people can live normally alongside each other, or together.

[Lekovic] Comment on the rumors that some of the Serb signers of the "Daruvar Agreement" were in Zagreb visiting President Tudjman several days after the signing.

[Fischer] Really?

[Lekovic] I am asking you!

[Fischer] That is possible. I really do not know.

Argentine Gen. Carlos Maria Zaballa, unlike Gerhard Fischer, is now a former representative of UNPROFOR in Croatia. On Saturday at 1000, he formally relinquished his duties to the new commander of Sector West, Jordanian Gen. Kamel Shabsough, and on Monday he left for Buenos Aires in order to take on a high-ranking post in the leadership of the Argentine military. Although he has always been cordial and obliging over the past year, he initially had nothing whatsoever to say about the meeting in Daruvar and the signed agreement, respecting the secrecy stipulation, or rather the confidentiality of the document. But yesterday, before leaving Daruvar, before the party prepared for him by his coworkers as a farewell surprise, Zaballa had a few things to say. His feigned incomprehension at our questions ("What agreement are you talking about? What signatures?") turned into an astonished facial expression, and then a sour smile when we showed him the issue of VJESNIK in which the agreement was published.

[Zaballa] Goodbye! I'm leaving. I am no longer commander here.

[Lekovic] Of course. But first tell us what you think about publication of the agreement.

[Zaballa] Nothing.

[Lekovic] But your signature is on it. Yours and Mr. Fischer's. As witnesses. You write well.

[Zaballa] We were only witnesses, and I have nothing to explain.

[Lekovic] I am not looking for your explanation, just your opinion. At this point you are still the commander of Sector West. This agreement, at least theoretically, is the crowning achievement of your work here over the past year.

[Zaballa] I am not sure how much of a success this document is, because when the meeting was agreed to, it was said that the agreement must not be published. Now someone has leaked the document to the newspapers. That is a big mistake. I do not agree with that.

That was all from Gen. Zaballa.

The basic reason for the decision to keep the contents of the agreement secret for a while was the intention to protect the "Serb signers," who are out of favor with the Okucani "hard line" and the Knin bosses. Some of them have already had shots fired at them. The majority of Serbs, who have an extraordinarily hard life in the occupied territory, are on the signers' side, although they cannot acknowledge that. But it is certain that the hard-liners in Okucani itself and in Pakracka Gavrinica—and in Knin—know that something is brewing. After all, preparatory meetings have been held (although not at such a high level) for more than two months now, and GLOBUS journalists were the only ones to attend some of them, but they have strictly abided by secrecy agreements.

Perhaps the time and events ahead will show why one of the participants in the latest meeting, apparently not at the local level, decided not to observe the term of silence. Only a day or two after the signing of the agreement, Ecimovic was nearly lynched in Okucani, and the borderland media have brought charges against him and Dzakula!

Position of Muslims in Croatia Discussed

93BA0829A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 17 Mar 93 p 4

[Interview with Zagreb imam Dr. Mustafa Ceric, by Darko Pavicic, conducted by telephone and fax between Zagreb and Kuala Lumpur; date not given: "Mustafa Ceric on Where and Why He Said What: 'I Have Not Acted Against Croatia'"]

[Text] "I saw no reason whatsoever why a member of any opposition party should have the right to publicly express opinions that differ from the stances of the Croatian authorities, while I feel hindered in that regard," says Dr. Mustafa Ceric, thinking here about what he said on relations between Croats and Muslims and the position of Muslims in Croatia.

In recent days, Zagreb imam Dr. Mustafa Ceric has provoked a storm of indignation. Specifically, a report appeared in the press alleging that in Arab countries Dr. Ceric acted against the Republic of Croatia and inflicted considerable damage to it. Dr. Ceric is currently in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia where he is lecturing at the Islamic Institute for History and Culture, so that we conducted this interview with him by telephone and fax. We wanted to know exactly what happened, because Dr. Ceric is one of the leading people in the Islamic Community in Croatia, but also among Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Pavicic] You immediately denied the press reports. What exactly happened, or rather what did you say and at what meeting?

[Ceric] First I issued a denial to VECERNJI LIST, in which the first information about my alleged anti-Croatian campaign in Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, and

the United Arab Emirates was published, and then I supplied an explanation of exactly what happened. First of all, I was not even in Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Bahrain. Accordingly, I could not have acted against the Republic of Croatia there.

On 2 March 1993, I gave a lecture at the club "El Dzezira" in Abu Dhabi, at the invitation of the Islamic Humanitarian Organization of that city and on the occasion of the annual Ramadan exhibition of Islamic humanitarian organizations. The subject of the lecture was "The Bosnian Question and the Responsibility of the Islamic World." The focus of the lecture was on the humanitarian Islamic obligation of the Muslim world toward Bosnian Muslims and all the citizens of Bosnia who are suffering. Naturally, the lecture included a condensed theological, sociological, and political overview of current events in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"There Is No Animosity"

[Pavicic] Why is there so much animosity in Croatia toward you? Is it connected with the recent interview, when you questioned the position of Muslims in Croatia?

[Ceric] I do not know on what basis you conclude that there is animosity toward me in Croatia. If we are talking about some sort of animosity, I think that what this involves is simply the attitude toward me in some of the Croatian media. I have been unable to get any impression of animosity from the contacts that we have with numerous friends and acquaintances, especially in these difficult times for both the Croat and the Muslim nation, especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina. On the contrary. The interview published in GLOBUS presented some of them with certain dilemmas, but all of that was cleared up. Besides, the reactions of the broad public to that interview varied, and many people criticized me, either for my openness or for alleged bias or for alleged tendentiousness in my description of current relations between Croats and Muslims, and especially the position of Muslims in Croatia.

Some people criticized me especially because I openly described problems with the Croatian authorities' attitude toward issues of the internal structure of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and because in so doing I did not omit frank observations on certain positions and actions by Croatian authorities toward Bosnia-Herzegovina. Accepting and respecting democracy in Croatia, I considered it completely normal that I express my opinion. Indeed, different opinions exist and are expressed, freely and publicly, on all the questions about which I spoke in Croatia. I saw no reason whatsoever why a member of any opposition party should have the right to publicly express opinions that differ from the stances of the Croatian authorities, while I feel hindered in that regard. Accordingly, I see no reason whatsoever for animosity toward me because of opinions that I freely expressed and that can be accepted or challenged.

Perhaps some people were disturbed by the fact that I expressed this as the imam of the Zagreb Mosque. Naturally, when I became the imam I did not stop being a citizen. Moreover, relations between Croats and Muslims are vitally important to both nations, especially in Bosnia-Herzegovina. During this time of suffering and trials for members of both nations, this question is so important that it clearly cannot be in the possession of politicians and journalists only. Ultimately, following my calling as imam and my obligation as professor at the School of Islamic Theology in Sarajevo, I could not talk about all this in any way other than sincerely and honestly. I will adjust or change my opinion as soon as I get the facts appropriate to that.

Unintentional Mistake by Media

[Pavicic] Do you really think that Muslims are threatened in Croatia, where more than 300,000 of them are being cared for as refugees?

[Ceric] Your question is clear and vague at the same time, because threat is not an exact category. Neither in the GLOBUS interview nor on any other occasion have I ever pronounced a general judgment in the sense of saying that Muslims in Croatia are threatened or that Muslims in Croatia are not threatened. I have talked about concrete examples where certain individual and collective rights of Muslims are threatened, and about the negative effect of that on relations between members of the two nations. In addition, the question implies an unintentional mistake present in the Croatian media's approach to this problem. Specifically, it is necessary to always bear in mind that citizens of Muslim nationality in Croatia and Muslim refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot be equated, neither in terms of formal law nor on the social, political, cultural, or any other level. However, citizens of Muslim nationality in Croatia and refugees of Muslim nationality from Bosnia-Herzegovina are very often equated in the media. That gives rise to disagreements and other undesirable consequences. For me, the question of the position of Muslims in Croatia is a question of democracy and the function of the mechanisms of the rule-of-law state.

[Pavicic] What is your view of the current position of Muslims in Croatia, or rather, what should relations between these two nations be like?

[Ceric] There is no dilemma concerning the fact that the current position of Muslims in Croatia is to a significant degree defined by the coupling and mutual reflection of events in Croatia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Naturally, given what Muslims and Croats know about each other, the events in Croatia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue to affect this position in the future. I believe, however, that once the current problems of both nations have been resolved, the position of Muslims in Croatia will be more defined by the democratic process and by the willingness of Muslims themselves to be active participants in that process.

Only Possible Answer

[Pavicic] Are quarrels and conflicts between Muslims and Croats not to the benefit of the Serbs?

[Ceric] Certainly quarrels between Muslims and Croats are to the benefit of the Serbs. Under the circumstances in which both the Croat and the Muslim nation find themselves right now, there can be no other answer to that question. I believe, however, that this "question to end all questions" on relations between Croats and Muslims, judging from how it is continually raised, is actually the wrong question. Through a question like this, one inherently agrees to the common inferiority of Croats and Muslims in relation to Serbs. On the other hand, the incessant repetition of this question indicates that not even the greatest suffering and sacrifices in this way have not taught us enough. That is why I am very often surprised by the media exposure given to various quarrels and conflicts between Croats and Muslims.

[Pavicic] What do you think is the cause of these divisions, and what is the road to good relations wherever they have been disrupted, especially in Bosnia?

[Ceric] I would rather not talk about the causes of division. I would rather talk about political provocations and incentives for these divisions, as well as political options for eliminating them. The road to good relations, wherever they have been disrupted, especially in Bosnia, is complete mutual respect.

'Greens' Party Splits Into Two Factions

93BA0794E Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 18 Mar 93 p 2

[Article by Marko Jakopec: "Denying the Legitimacy of an Already Registered Party"]

[Text] *Whereas Dr. Dusan Plut's supporters are hoping for a civilized separation of the Green factions, Gosnik and his people are citing the old party's statute.*

Ljubljana, 17 Mar—The collapse of the party of the Greens of Slovenia is obviously entering its final phase. The Ljubljana Center municipal authorities, in fact, have entered a new one in the registry of parties, with the name of the Greens-Ecological Social Party. This is the part of the Greens that is headed by Dr. Dusan Plut.

The frictions within the party began soon after its emergence, and appeared in a particularly aggravated form at the recent council meeting, where the participants determined, after a long and painful discussion, that the views of the Greens' political and program course in the future were so different that it would be best to separate somehow, and for the two parts to continue their own political and party course independently. Dr. Dusan Plut told us today that this was a real separation, even though a party assembly has not yet decided on it. It was by no means the departure of some members, who would afterwards establish their own party. He emphasized that he expected the other side, headed by Vane Gosnik, to show patience, which would permit a civilized talk about substantive and formal legal succession to the Greens Party. Plut said that he was by no means denying the Gosnik part's right to that succession. He also added that personally, he had kept trying to keep the party together, and otherwise, at least to have it separate in a civilized and patient manner. "The internal antagonisms among the members are obviously so strong that we were not even able to convene an assembly," he said.

Vane Gosnik, vice president of the Greens of Slovenia, said: "I literally found out from the newspapers that the Ljubljana authorities had registered a new party with the name Greens-Ecological Social Party. Even the party secretariat in Ljubljana did not want to tell me anything about it today; I only found out that I would be notified of the entire matter through official papers. I can only say about all of this that it does not involve any sort of separation of the Greens of Slovenia. Specifically, the party's statue clearly states that such important matters as separation, merger, or a change in the party's name can only be decided by its assembly, with a two-thirds' majority of all the delegates. So far the assembly has not even discussed that decision, much less adopted it. I maintain that it is simply a matter of several members' leaving the party of the Greens of Slovenia and establishing a new one. On one hand, that fact will cause the Greens party some difficulties, but on the other, it will enable it to start actually carrying out its program. Consequently, the Greens have by no means separated, and instead are continuing to act as a normal parliamentary party. Departures by individual members happen in many parties, sometimes more and sometimes less noticeably. I think that it is something completely normal."

Farmers Demand Protectionist Measures

93BA0824C Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 23 Mar 93 p 3

[Article by Roza Erman: "To the Fields or to the Barricades?"]

[Text] *Farmers' demands for improving the situation in agriculture; a decision on a farmers' strike depends on the government's decision on Thursday.*

Ljubljana, 23 Mar—The situation in Slovene agriculture has been deteriorating since the spring of 1990. Today agriculture is already threatened by collapse, unless the state adopts measures to protect domestic food production. In the December peaceful protest, the farmers submitted a demand for five urgent measures to the government. After Prime Minister Drnovsek just received them last week and listened to their arguments, negotiations are now under way between Agriculture Minister Dr. Osterc, who is supporting the farmers' proposals, and Minister of Economic Relations and Development Dr. Kracun, who is firmly defending the stabilization orientation. It will depend on Thursday's decision by the government whether the farmers will be satisfied with the measures or whether they will block roads in a nationwide farmers' protest.

Agricultural production has been decreasing since 1990. In 1990 Slovenia bought 360 million liters of milk, and last year only 353 million liters. In 1990, 70,000 tons of cattle on the hoof were slaughtered in slaughterhouses, and only 56,000 tons last year; in 1990 51,000 tons of pigs were slaughtered, and last year only 37,000 tons; and in 1990 Slovenia produced 89,000 tons of wheat, and last year 72,000 tons (also somewhat less because of drought).

The Price Only Covers Half the Costs

The reasons for the declining production include primarily the growing imbalances between the costs of production and the coverage of those costs by purchase prices. In cattle raising, from which a Slovene farmer obtains almost 70 percent of his total income, the purchase prices currently cover only about 60 percent of the costs of raising them; the purchase price for milk, in fact, has been frozen since last April, whereas fertilizers, pesticides, and other semifinished products are continually rising sharply in price. The fragmentation and backwardness of our agriculture are not the only things to blame for such a bad situation in agriculture, as confirmed by the fact that even the biggest and best breeders at the so-called model farms, who are considerably above the Slovene average, cover only 60 percent of their costs, and the Slovene Agricultural Institute's monthly calculation of costs is based precisely on those farmers.

The relaxation of imports of livestock and meat in October 1992 was a big blow to Slovene farmers, along with the resulting lower purchase and lower prices for domestic livestock, which can already been seen in stabling. "If the only way to sell fattened livestock is by unauthorized slaughter, why stable them again?" the farmer asks, and becomes irritated, since that decision by the government did not benefit either the breeders or the buyers, since meat was not cheaper in the stores as a result, and someone else made a profit. No one is giving exact data on who imported what amounts. Slovene breeders, however, say that as a result of the frozen price for milk and the lower prices for meat from last April until today, they have lost more than 5 billion tolars....

If a Farmer Is Compared to a Worker...

If the government had already listened to farmers' difficulties last year, the demands would not be so high today, the farmers say. To be sure, they are prepared for compromise solutions and are not depending special privileges, but they do not agree with those who blame the producers themselves for expensive food, if retail prices rose by 92.9 percent last year according to the statistical data, while the purchase price for milk has been frozen since last April.... During the first four months of last year, the purchase price for milk increased by 27 percent, the retail price for pasteurized milk increased by 35 percent of all of last year (as a result of a new package), Trappist cheese became 60 percent more expensive, while the producer's own price for Trappist cheese increased by 48 percent, and yogurt became 102 percent more expensive, but the producer's own price for it increased by 56 percent. The purchase price for slaughtered beef increased by 43 percent, and the retail price for beef with bones increased by 50 percent; the purchase price for meat pigs increased by 68 percent, and the retail price for pork with bones increased by 59 percent.

To those data, the farmers are adding a comparison of the amounts that a farmer had to sell at the purchase price for a monthly wage, and the amounts that a worker could buy at the retail price. In 1985 a farmer had to sell 1,370 liters of milk for an average wage, 1,161 liters in January 1992, and already 1,891 in December, with the average for last year 1,489 liters. In 1985 a worker could buy 796 liters of milk for an average wage, 556 in January 1992, and 954 in December, with the average for last year 728 liters.

In 1985, a farmer had to sell 237 kg of beef for an average wage, 184 in January 1992, and 297 in December; the average for last year was 248 kg. A worker could buy an average of 100 kg of beef in 1985, 47 in January 1992, 73 in December, and an average of 63 kg last year.

The farmers say that for a year they have been warning the government in vain about the consequences of its agrarian policy, and now they are fed up. If the government does not recognize how important agriculture is, both for self-sufficiency and for the preservation of settled and cultivated areas, and if an agreement on the necessary measures cannot be reached with the government, they will have to protest. The spring work and sowing are imminent, but there is no money for it. The state, in any case, will have to decide—if it wants to have agriculture, it also has to help it and protect, as this is done in the world, and not protect consumers just at the expense of the producer, but rather through an appropriate social policy.

[Box, p 3]

The Farmers Are Demanding an Agricultural Protection Policy

The farmers are demanding the immediate adoption of measures to protect domestic production, i.e., the introduction of advance payments, calculated in absolute amounts for imports of milk, meat, wine, fruits, and vegetables. Furthermore, they are demanding the designation of protective prices in accordance with the development policy for agriculture in Slovenia, and a change in the purchase prices for agricultural products in order to cover the production costs of the producer with average productivity. The purchase price for milk has to be raised to 29 tolars, and the purchase price for young fattened beef has to be raised to 185 tolars; the ratio between the purchase prices for beef and pigs has to be 1:0.95. They are agreeing to a gradual adjustment in three months, while taking into consideration higher productivity and agreements from social consultation, but they are also demanding the introduction of export incentives to encourage the sale of surpluses and regulate the ratio between the purchase price and the retail price, as well as the introduction of market order and consistent control over imports of agricultural and food products.

Share in the Social Product Increasingly Smaller

Agriculture's share in the state' social product, which grew to 5.4 percent in 1991, fell to 4.8 percent last year. There are 145,000 people, or 7.6 percent of all Slovenia's inhabitants, directly involved in agriculture. Together with those who are indirectly involved in agriculture, there are 180,000 people associated with agriculture. Of the 156,000 farms, only 7,000, or less than 35 percent, have more than five hectares of land. Investment activity in agriculture fell last year from 1.1 percent of total investments in 1991 to 0.7 percent.

Government Seeks Talks With Trade Unions

93BA0824D Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 23 Mar 93 p 4

[Article by Alenka Brezovnik: "A Sensible Government Does Not Yield to Pressures"]

[Text] *Dr. Janez Drnovsek is firmly determined to implement the economic program, in the hope that there will not be a general strike.*

Ljubljana, 23 Mar—The government wants to establish a dialogue with the trade unions, because it thinks that

with their support there is more of a chance for success. Consequently, yesterday Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek, along with Ministers Davorin Kracun, Mitja Gaspari, and Jozica Puhar presented to numerous officials from representative trade unions a proposal for the basic economic and social policy orientations, and the budget for this year; they also talked about the possibilities for concluding an agreement on ensuring social stability.

According to Drnovsek, this year will still be critical, and one can still expect a further decline in the social product. If we succeed in carrying out the economic policy program, however, next year economic activity will increase, and the decline in employment will be slowed. We can expect investments when the economic system is implemented; since there are few funds, it will be necessary to work very efficiently with them. The priority goals of economic policy this year are preserving the level of macroeconomic stability that has been achieved, and creating the institutional conditions for long-term economic growth. The replacement of the economic system by a new ownership structure is extremely sensitive, and is bringing a series of unknowns, workers feel threatened, they do not see any prospects, and because of social differences there is a danger of new injustices; the government will therefore make an effort to seek the fairest way, together with the trade unions, that will not lead to further exacerbation. On the other hand, the government is firmly determined to implement some things completely, especially investments, development, and new employment.

Although the government wants citizens to have the best possible wages and standard of living, with the decline in the social product and employment it was forced to take measures. "We did not expect that there would be a dispute between the government and the trade unions over the law on wages, and that the law would lead to such tensions. The government services estimated that the collective contract was not effective enough, and that its implementation had to be ensured. The numerous protests showed that our estimates were incorrect, since the trade unions gave priority to the collective contract, and the dispute occurred because of the instrument through which the restriction was to be achieved," Drnovsek explained to the trade union officials.

At yesterday's meeting, the government adopted a supplement to the law on the method of calculating and paying wages, in order to increase its adjustability. Enterprises that have lower personal incomes than the Slovene average, and which have not increased wages excessively since last September, are to be exempted from the restriction. The supplement should also substantially increase the proportion of personal incomes to be redirected for the privatization of enterprises. The government is also proposing a further reduction in deputies' wages, as Drnovsek explained, and he and State Assembly President Herman Rigelnik have agreed that parliament will also support this action. The government seriously discussed the proposal from some economists that it replace legal implementation and control over the annex to the collective contract by tax instruments, and preserve an equal base and graduated scale, while violators would pay higher taxes if the collective contract were exceeded. The funds thus collected would be used by the government for additional employment and to stimulate economic growth. That kind of conduct, however, requires amending the tax legislation.

Drnovsek thinks that a general strike would further exacerbate the situation in Slovenia, and considerably reduce the government's room to maneuver. Just as no sensible government yields to pressures, Drnovsek's government will not do so either, but it is still prepared to do everything possible to avoid a strike first. The trade union members accepted the government's initiatives, but at the same time they enumerated a series of already well-known demands that they have been reiterating ever since the first talks on concluding a social partnership. Among other things, they are demanding laws on the wages of managers, a collective contract, joint management, workers' courts, and inspection services, and they are also demanding clear development goals, a reduction in the rate of inflation, an effective legal system, revision of the law on health insurance, amendments to the tax legislation (income tax should not be collected from those who earn the lowest wages), the establishment of a trilateral body, and the payment of wages by the 18th of the month. Regarding a general strike, they emphasized that it was not their goal and that they wanted to avoid it themselves, but that ultimately it was still their right.

They also suggested to Drnovsek more government coordination between the Development Fund and the Bank Rehabilitation Fund, and more successful measures against economic crime. They are also demanding assistance for those who have already been unemployed for a long time and do not have any resources to survive.

Drnovsek concluded the talk by saying that the government by no means wanted to act as an anti-worker one that would represent the interests of "primitive" capitalism, and that was why it was intentionally emphasizing the goals of social adjustment. He also warned about several phenomena that the government intended to deal with. Serious capital is somehow bashfully trickling into Slovenia, but speculative capital of dubious origin has flourished. The government intends to provide long-term incentives for serious capital. Otherwise, Janez Drnovsek expressed the hope that the government and the trade unions would find a common language and that a search for a balance instead of new conflicts would prevail.

[Box, p 4]

26,000 Signatures for Rigelnik

President of the Free Trade Unions Dusan Semolic, secretary Rajko Lesjak, the members of the presidency, and state councilors met last night with Herman

Rigelnik, president of the State Assembly. They symbolically presented him with 26,000 signatures in favor of amending the law on health insurance, and announced the collection of signatures for a law on a collective contract. They also described to him their attitude toward a social partnership. Rigelnik agreed with them that an agreement was the only possible solution to surmount the social difficulties. In addition to the trade unions, he also sees serious partners in the ranks of retirees and employers with greater responsibility. When he was informed about the trade unions' views of government policy, Rigelnik agreed with their opinion that it was necessary to present citizens with a vision of development and an economic program for the period of the present government's term, together with outlined goals and those responsible for the tasks for each year separately. The Free Trade Unions also informed Rigelnik about an initiative to replace the wage freeze law with a social agreement, with regard to which there are two dams—the dam of inflation and the dam that would prevent an abnormal increase in unemployment, with the collective contract in between the two of them.

[Box, p 4]

Davorin Kracun, minister of economic relations and development: "In addition to the stabilization goal, budget policy will also support the priority tasks—financial rehabilitation of the banks, the restructuring of enterprises, and an active employment policy and assistance to the unemployed. The operation of the tax system will be improved and perfected, and otherwise, every year we will have to be aware of what we can afford and where limitations are necessary. This year, the gross social product should fall by 1 percent, in 1994 it should grow by 1 percent, and in 1995, it should grow by 2 percent."

[Box, p 4]

Minister of Finance Mitja Gaspari: "Wages and social transfers already represent over 40 percent of the budget, and since last year social transfers have increased by more than one-fourth. In several areas we still have unamended legislation that originated when there was still substantially less unemployment. Without amendment of the legislation, the share of expenditures for this purpose will already rise to over half the budget, and consequently a proposal to revise will have to go to parliament."

[Box, p 4]

Rasto Plohl, Independent Trade Unions of Slovenia: "Until the deputies' wages are settled, we will not cooperate constructively with the government, but will instead sue it. People earn little and are hungry, but your services are honorary and you are serving the people. The deputies' wages should amount to 50,000, and property should be the property of the Slovene people. People are very angry at you, but I do not intend to calm them down; instead, we will incite social unrest."

Dr. Drnovsek commented on this statement as follows: "That is demagogy, and if you do what you are saying, one more revolution awaits us."

New, Simpler Customs Regulations Promulgated

93BA0860C Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 30 Mar 93 p 1

[Article by Ilja Popit: "Simpler Customs Duties"]

[Text] *Enterprises and private individuals will now be able to pay customs duties on imported raw materials right at the border, said Franc Kosir, director of the Slovene Customs Administration.*

Ljubljana, 29 Mar—"We would like to achieve travelers' confidence so that they go abroad and declare goods at home as consistently as possible," journalists were told today by Franc Kosir, director of the Slovene Customs Administration, who spoke to them about customs and the simplifications in the customs procedure that had already been or would be brought by new regulations.

In order to simplify and lower the cost of operations, Customs is now taking over the border and local border crossings from the police, so that when this process is complete, the police will only control the border. Several regulations that affect customs inspectors are thus also being changed, so that there will be increased supervision of them, including an alcohol test; prorated service will be regulated for some of the hardest jobs; there will be regulations in connection with the use of weapons, 30 years will be set as the maximum age for being accepted into the service at crossings; it will be specified that service as a customs inspector is incompatible with the performance of foreign trade or shipping services, etc., and other things as well.

The changes brought by the new regulations, with the intention of simplifying customs and conducting it as much as possible at the border crossing, are important to private individuals. The government therefore raised the amount up to which the single duty rate applies from 150,000 to 200,000 tolars, and set the limit of exemptions for domestic travelers from paying duty on items that they bring from abroad at the tolar equivalent value of $200. Enterprises and private individuals will thus be able to import raw materials for production and pay duties on them right at the border.

That method, of course, requires order, if we want to avoid abuses and if we want the state budget to have set revenues, although much less than the former Yugoslav budget had, when during certain periods federal customs duties yielded as much as 30 to 40 percent of the revenue. In order to achieve that order, Slovene Customs wants to achieve confidence and the most consistent possible declaration of goods. Travelers will consistently be asked for receipts for purchased goods. It will be necessary to pay attention to this when making a purchase and request duplicate receipts, if it will already be necessary to present one to foreign authorities for

exemption from value-added tax. In some cases, Slovene Customs will also be satisfied with a photocopy of the receipt.

If that order does not exist, Customs will take measures. In addition to the threatened monetary fines, other measures will be even more educational. Enterprises that do not observe regulations in the weekly payment of duties on imported raw materials will thus lose their permits for that privilege. Anyone who does not have the required receipts with him will have the simple customs procedure changed into something more complicated and expensive, associated with waiting inside, etc.

Kosir also pointed out that the $200 limit on duty-free imports applied to each citizen individually and that it was not possible to combine them, for example, by having five family members get in a car and request an exemption from paying duties on a television worth $1000, i.e., a fifth from each one. The importation of used cares will be highly restricted by the obligation to obtain a certificate of technical suitability, since it will be difficult to obtain.

Federal

JAT Crews Detect 'Not a Single' NATO Plane

LD1204164793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1620 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, April 12 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Airlines (JAT) crews flying on the Belgrade-Podgorica and Belgrade-Tivat (Montenegro) routes on Monday afternoon [12 April], did not notice a single warplane in the sky over the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said the JAT operational center in Belgrade.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) warplanes were flying at great altitudes, so that they could not be detected in the Yugoslav airspace, since passenger plane radars do not pick up their frequencies, said JAT pilots.

Passenger traffic in the Yugoslav airspace is safe.

NATO Brussels headquarters said that its warplanes started patrolling Bosnia-Herzegovina's airspace on Monday at 2 p.m. This is the first time that NATO warplanes are being deployed in combat action over the territory of a non-NATO country.

'Operation Deny Flight,' as the operation has been dubbed, has been approved by the United Nations. Over 50 U.S., French and Dutch warplanes from airbases in Italy will take part.

Jovanovic Warns of 'Deny Flight' Consequences

LD1204215493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2131 GMT 12 Apr 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, April 12 (TANJUG)—Deployment of foreign combat aircraft over Bosnia, especially near the border with Yugoslavia, is very risky, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic told the British WTN television network on Monday.

Jovanovic said "Deny Flight" operation over Bosnia was a risky move which might lead to undesirable incidents. He described the operation as a new form of escalation of tensions and the crisis in that republic.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will not allow that its air space be violated by any military force, said Jovanovic adding that "this should be clear."

He said the operation, if conceived as additional pressure on Yugoslavia or an attempt to coerce Yugoslavia into concessions in issues other than the Bosnian, would from the political point of view be dangerous and might have unforeseeable consequences.

The F.R. Yugoslavia is bordering with the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina which has for a year been ravaged by a religious, ethnic and civil war between local Serbs, Croats and Muslims.

Sentences of TV Reporters in Croatia Protested

LD1204181793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1653 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, April 12 (TANJUG) - The Yugoslav Human Rights Ministry on Monday expressed "bitterness and shock" because of the long sentences two Bosnian Serb TV journalists received in Croatia last week.

Ognjen Tadic and Milovan Pejanovic, journalists of Bosnian Serb Channel S, were captured by Croatian troops in late January while reporting on Croatia's aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina. The Split military tribunal sentenced one of the journalists to six and the other to seven years in prison.

The Human Rights Ministry warned that Serbs in the Croatian cities of Dubrovnik, Zagreb, Split and Varazdin are being tried just because they are Serbs and that they do not have the right to choose the counsel to defend them at these rigged trials.

The Zagreb authorities are in this manner deterring all non-Croats, forcing them to move from Croatia and conducting ethnic cleansing of Serbs.

The Human Rights Ministry expressed its disappointment in the international community "which has been doing practically nothing to prevent such actions".

Textile, Leather Industries Seeking Government Aid

93BA0819B Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 93 p 15

[Article by M. Barjaktarevic: "Textiles and Leather: Illusion on the Screen"]

[Text] *Directors are very angry at the state, but even more so at Belgrade television, or more precisely RTS [Serbian Radio and Television], which is creating an idyllic representation of the situation in this sector.*

Last year, in relation to 1991, the production of yarn and fabric fell 19.7 percent, with finished textile goods dropping 30.5 percent, dressed leather and fur dropping 15.1 percent, and leather and fur ready-made garments, shoes, and fancy goods dropping 15.6 percent. Thus, with the exception of the finished textile product industry, these branches experienced a lower drop in production than the average expressed in Yugoslav industry (22.6 percent). This is reason enough for workers at textile, leather, and shoe enterprises to appreciate how their relatively satisfying ability to adapt, even to impossible situations, comes back to them like a boomerang. In other words, to see that it was a mistake for them to often accentuate their flexibility in relation to the market, because that was understood by the state as meaning that they could safely pull through even the greatest chaos without the least bit of support. However, if one bears in mind the appreciable decline in the

production of textiles and leather in 1991, and the fact that at present no more than 40 percent of capacity is being utilized, or that no one is daring even to talk about the financial side of business any more, then it is not hard to conclude that textiles and leather are nevertheless vulnerable. Perhaps even more than other industries, because a higher percentage of them are connected to the foreign market on the import and on the export side.

In their own opinion, textile and leather makers are a good-natured lot who approach cabinet ministers with prayer books, in contrast to metalworkers, who in the past have threatened the state by saying that they would incite major unrest, and on this basis have ensured—albeit temporarily—their material existence. On the other hand, figures indicate that because of the high level of technology, wages at Smederevo Iron Mills, "Krusik," and "Zmaj" account for 3 to 5 percent of income, while in textiles, because of the major role played by manpower, that figure is around 20 percent. In this regard, at a recent meeting of representatives from the textile and leather-working industry held at the Federal Economic Chamber, the question was raised of how the state can fix the lowest price of labor without at the same time saying who will provide the funds. For the most part, workers look for them from the directors. Hence the conclusion that the state is initiating problems instead of eliminating them. In these two branches, 70 percent of the workers lack specific qualifications; they unquestioningly absorb everything served up to them through the media. And as far as the atmosphere in textiles is concerned, judging from Belgrade television it is in fact idyllic. Vranje is in operation, which means that textiles are in operation.

It is also striking that businessmen are meeting less as the crisis worsens. But why should they meet when, as they themselves contend, there are always the same people there, the exact same stories are told, and the result is the same stalemate? In fact, their position is increasingly difficult. In the opinion of a representative of "Beograd" Shoe Industry, things in that group are getting worse all the time. Some funds are needed to put out the fire, at least a little money for cheap production and minimal exports. This little funding that the textile and leather makers requested two months ago has since risen from 1 to 40 billion dinars.

The directors decided not to meet any more until at least one of their demands is met. Or rather, that they must organize, go to the government, request a meeting with the republican prime minister, and if necessary, stay there for 40 hours or until their demands are met. Does that mean that they decided to turn the page and replace the prayer book with threats? Nothing of the kind, because in the end the ball was dropped, meaning that the prevailing stance was that for now it is enough to approach the cabinet minister in the usual manner. The main cause of the situation in production, in economic relations with foreign countries, and, accordingly, in achieved financial results is certainly the inappropriate economic policy implemented under conditions of complex and overall social, economic, and political crisis, system collapse, the disintegration of the former common economic area, or rather the very pronounced foreign and domestic blockade.

While knitwear plants in Serbia are idle, the minimal foreign exchange available is being used to import shoddy goods from Singapore. Slovene knitwear is being imported, and local workers are pulling out of production, growing unaccustomed to working, and getting involved in black-marketeering. All of this is resulting in yet another paradox: Textile makers, who have always advocated a free market, because they have basically always been in that type of market, are now yelling for at least some form of state regulation. The explanation is that under such circumstances it is not even possible to think in market terms, because what we have now is a great deal of general chaos, through which the free market can scarcely be discerned. There have been several changes of government in Serbia over the last few years. Textile makers do not understand why not one of them was willing to take a more serious look at their problems. In the context described above, it is almost absurd to elaborate their latest demands, if for no other reason because they have been addressed to a government that has been fired. Thus, whether they will get new opportunities with the new government remains an open question.

Belgian Plane Landing Linked to Boss Jezda's Flight

93BA0821B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 19 Mar 93 p 12

[Article by Miroslav Vujovic: "From Gossip to Tel Aviv: Flying Suitcase?"]

[Text] *What is the connection between the recent forced landing of a Belgian passenger plane at Surcin Airport and the self-exile of Jezdimir Vasiljevic to Israel?*

The recent forced landing (on 7 March at 1300) of a Belgian airliner at Surcin Airport ended happily for the passengers and crew of the Sabena Airbus 310, but a veil of secrecy remains over this unexpected visit.

To recall: The crew of the Belgian airliner contacted Yugoslav authorities (below Sremska Mitrovica) requesting a forced landing, when midway through a flight from Brussels to Tel Aviv, in Yugoslav airspace, it was announced that there was a bomb on board. According to the on-duty Security Service officer at the Belgrade Airport, information on the planted bomb came to the navigator of the Airbus 310 by radio from Brussels. According to another unofficial source, that report came to a steward and the crew by Israeli military radio. After many hours of searching, the investigation established that it was a false alarm, and after 1800 the Belgian airliner took off for Tel Aviv.

Why is the arrival of the Belgian airplane shrouded in a veil of secrecy?

Clearly, after the plane in question took off, there would not have remained a trace of suspicion if on that very evening, and thus on 7 March of this year, it had not leaked out "that that same evening Jezdimir Vasiljevic, the owner of Belgrade's 'Jugoskandik,' left Yugoslavia."

Coincidence or not, Boss Jezda's route from the Hungarian capital took him precisely to the final destination of the Airbus 310, Tel Aviv.

It was noted that on that night, journalists tried in vain to talk to passengers on the regularly scheduled Brussels-Tel Aviv flight.

The public was given contradictory information on this surprise landing: A POLITIKA reporter, on the scene, told his editors that there were 130 passengers on board. At a press conference held around 1500, the commander of the police station, Slobodan Dimitrijevic, told the assembled "fourth estate" that there were 136 registered passengers on the Airbus 310. The public was then told an off-color story: A representative of the company revealed to journalists the "negligible" detail that a Japanese passenger had left a large bag on his seat containing precious stones, "informing the stewardess upon leaving the plane that it was very valuable luggage." Another passenger, while having his luggage inspected, showed Yugoslav authorities a bag full of 100-dollar bills.

According to "uninformed" gossip, members of Mossad and the PLO where also on board the Belgian Airbus 310. The same sources (and others) say that the forced landing of the Sabena airliner was carried out in agreement with Yugoslav authorities. Then, the informed sources say, "Jezdimir Vasiljevic's" suitcase was put on board the Belgian airplane.

Less than 24 hours after the Sabena airplane left, according to newspaper reports, two older gentlemen who spoke Hebrew appeared at a press conference held by Jezdimir Vasiljevic, whom Boss Jezda himself introduced as businessmen from Israel. Each and every newspaper report stated that they "spoke through Jezda."

Did the state racket because of which "Jezda left Yugo" gain a stronger hand (or support) that 7 March at Surcin Airport?

Or was this cooperation between two divine nations where they belong—in the skies?

Israel Linked to Bank Scandal, Petroleum Imports

93BA0821A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 19 Mar 93 pp 10-13

[Article by Branka Andjelkovic and Svetlana Djurdjevic-Lukic: "Crime and Interest: Bad Money"]

[Text] *The links in the petroleum-food-arms chain on which the state under embargo has rested are breaking. Where is the line between beneficial malversation and robbery, are there 80 or 2,000 people on the SDB [State Security Service] list, and is there a Jewish lobby?*

Beginning almost at the same time and comprising two halves of the same circle, the so-called ministerial affair and the "Jezda" affair appear to have their epicenter in petroleum deals, which have proven to be most profitable during the days of patriotic trials and tribulations.

The story of 700,000 German marks [DM] buried in a meadow is a grotesque symbol of the way the whole system works: primitivism, megalomania, unscrupulousness. There is a strictly controlled intention behind the campaign apparently being conducted by the State Security Service and the ubiquitous Radmilo Bogdanovic, judging from the way in which it is presented on state television. All the conditions exist, as circumstances require, for opening up new cycles of hell for small-time and big-time wielders of power, so that it is not impossible that there would be between 80 and as many as 2,000 suspects on the SDB list, according to stories that are circulating. But this is more than negligible compared to the hundreds of thousands of anxious "Jugoskandik" savings depositors. According to a NIN Forum poll, nearly half of all respondents (49 percent) still believe in Boss Jezda and his charges. But to many of his depositors, not even the compensation for fear that Vasiljevic is promising in the form of payment of the entire principal (instead of 90 percent) somewhere in the vicinity of the Hungarian border can cover these sleepless days.

Jezdimir Vasiljevic tried to build his empire on a segment of business and on the import of petroleum back in early 1991, but unsuccessfully, since then-Vice Prime Minister Slobodan Prohaska had a sort of monopoly over the import of petroleum, ceding these dealings to relatives and friends. By gathering proof that Prohaska has a private firm in Cyprus, Jezdimir Vasiljevic forced him to resign "without explanation." Since at that time he was concluding certain deals with the Serbian Ministry of Defense, he also had the opportunity to execute that move, additionally requesting as a return favor that he be allowed to buy up foreign exchange from citizens and conduct business like any state or social enterprise. We have learned from reliable sources that Vasiljevic provided monetary assistance to the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] back on the eve of the first multiparty elections in December 1990, but he did not want that to be known. In addition, he had no business ties whatsoever with Israel until October 1991, when he visited Israel together with then-Minister of Industry Dusan Matkovic.

The technological exhibition that was the reason for the gathering of many Serbian businessmen, as "personae grata," was also attended by Klara Mandic, the president of the Society of Serbian-Jewish Friendship and the initiator of many business ties between Serbia and Israel.

At the time, Israel seemed to many to be a gold mine of safe business. The result of these successful business contacts was a few contracts, as well as the establishment of an Israeli-Serbian business center headquartered at the "Sava" Center in Belgrade. Its later director, Klara Mandic, was still saying at the time that "the law of business is stronger than all political games." Beginning in 1990, many Israeli businessmen stayed at the "Intercontinental" Hotel, and the president of the Society of Serbian-Jewish Friendship also showed up as an inevitable escort.

Vicious Circle

The public then learned that Dafina Malinovic, the director of "Dafiment Bank," and Ms. Mandic were close friends, and that because of that Dafina had even moved to Klara's neighborhood. Rumors began to spread to the effect that Klara Mandic and her friends—business partners from Israel—were behind all of Dafina's business. Besides banking, Dafina is also involved in exporting petroleum through the company "Dafiment Trade," which in her words is currently the biggest importer of "black gold" into Yugoslavia. Petroleum was also reportedly the direct reason that Jezdimir Vasiljevic left the country. As the public already knows, the Economic Court in Podgorica has confiscated 62 million of "Jugoskandik's" high-grade gasoline based on a claim by Montenegro's Private Economy Bank.

However, what remains unknown for now is how Jugoskandik and Dafiment Trade even managed to legally import petroleum into the country. In the event that both companies, like "Jugodrvo," had registered branch offices in Bosnia and Krajina that made it possible for them to send shipments of petroleum through Yugoslavia in transit (although it actually remained there), then this means enormous quantities of unregistered petroleum, on which neither the 66 percent tax nor customs duty was paid. This raises the question of where the difference between the purchase price of 50 pfennigs and the selling price, which at best was one and a half DM at private pumps, was lost and into whose pocket it went.

When we tried to learn from the Economic Chamber who officially are the biggest legal importers of the incriminated petroleum into Serbia, they sent us to the Ministry of Energy, and they sent us to the Ministry for the Maintenance of Foreign Economic Relations, where they cordially referred us to the Ministry of Trade; there, we were sent back to the Ministry of Energy....

Even while the competent ministries know nothing, Ms. Klara Mandic was willing to tell our magazine that the business arrangements between Israel and Serbia are still in place.

"This involves an Israeli-Swiss firm in the parking lot business and an Israeli diamond center founded two years ago. In this way, the Israelis are still present in Belgrade, but not to the extent that they would like. They are simply waiting for the sanctions to be lifted in order to continue where they left off, because Serbia and Israel are two complementary markets."

Asked to comment on the visit by Izrael Kelman, who was introduced on Serbian Radio and Television as one of the stockholders in Dafiment Bank with a 25 percent share of capital, Klara Mandic referred us to Mr. Kelman himself. Cordially apologizing, he said that he could not respond to us because he was too busy. But some other time when he is in Belgrade he will try to answer the questions that interest us right now.

In the meantime, the business dream that began for many of our companies a couple of years ago in Israel is over. Our builders hurried to Israel because of the atmosphere surrounding the construction of hundreds of thousands of housing units, stirred up by Arik [as published] [Ari'el] Sharon, the former Israeli minister of construction and a friend of Klara Manic, whose chance meeting in 1989 was critical to the development of business ties between the two countries. But last year, it turned out that Minister Sharon had overstepped his legal and budgetary authorities by several billion dollars by building ghost towns with thousands of empty dwellings which no one needs now. Thus, our construction companies had to pack their bags.

It is said that some Jews who previously emigrated from Serbia to Israel are now investing in housing and office space there as a long-term investment.

Anti-Semitism in Action?

All of this is causing uneasiness in the Jewish community here. Prof. Dr. Zarko Korac, a psychologist, tells NIN:

"One of the possible and very ugly aspects of this crisis is the fact that Israel is systematically involved in it, which could have far-reaching consequences. I must say that the story about a Jewish lobby is anti-Semitic, because there is no such thing in the world. The fact that some private bankers are talking about special ties with Jewish capital only bears witness to their ignorance and bad intentions."

The only Jewish lobby is in the United States, just as there are lobbies for Greeks, Albanians, and many others, but there lobbying is legally regulated.

In any event, stories about a deliberate search for scapegoats by the current authorities in Serbia occupy an important place in predictions about the outcome of the whole affair involving the arrest of ministers and Jezdimir Vasiljevic's departure from the country. Some contend that this moment was chosen in order to divert attention from events in Bosnia-Herzegovina, or rather the inevitable signing of the Vance-Owen plan.

There is also talk, full of pathos, about the warm Slavic soul and ties with fraternal Russia. In fact, these stories are reinforced by a major deal concerning a gas pipeline.

Beginning on 1 January 1993, the mixed company "Progress Gas Trading" began independent operations,

with a 50-50 investment of Serbian private capital and Russian state capital, which holds a monopoly over the import of gas. In this way, "Progress," which according to a decision by the Serbian government was designated the standard-bearer for the import of gas, turned this big business over to its offspring. Explaining why the Russian state enterprise "Gas Eksport" decided to enter into a deal with Serbian private capital, Toplica Nedeljkovic, the director of "Progress Gas Trading" and Sainovic's former deputy republican minister of energy in the Bozovic administration, told NIN:

"The Russian economy is changing its concept of business, and because of high confidence in the private sector the Russians concluded a contract with us. The quality of this deal lies in the fact that the gas is paid for by barter—with goods and not with foreign exchange, which would be the case if the firm were not mixed. Otherwise, we concluded a contract with the Serbian petroleum industry on Wednesday, which will continue to distribute gas to its members."

However, the question remains: How was this deal on importing gas, worth millions of dollars, left up to private initiative, by orders of the Serbian government?

All of Bozovic's People

Even if transactions with petroleum under embargo conditions could be regarded as beneficial malversation and a patriotic gesture, that cannot be said about the outflow of food from the country. Since the outset of the war, food has been under a strictly controlled regime, and its export is all but prohibited. At one point, in November, then-Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic even accused Montenegro of taking food out of Serbia and then exporting it. Did Ministers Vlajkovic and Mihajlovic misrepresent the export of food to Bozovic as a Montenegrin deal? One must recall that before that Dusan Mitevic had been dismissed, amid general surprise, from the post of director of commodity reserves; this same Mitevic has lately been mentioned as one of the people in danger of being arrested. Mr. Mitevic told NIN that his passport has not been taken away from him, that no one has even called him in for any sort of questioning or for anything similar. He refused to comment on the ministerial affair, aside from saying that he is sorry that no attention was paid to his statements at the time, even though as a man with legal training he was aware that there was no concrete proof to back up serious charges.

How does Radoman Bozovic, the man who had the rare privilege of being recommended to the People's Assembly by President Milosevic, feel after all this? Clearly, the most interesting thing is the well known fact that Bozovic once insisted on having people with whom he had worked closely in Vojvodina in the republican administration: Sava Vlajkovic, Zoran Cetkovic, Jan Kisgeci. The appointment of Koviljko Lovre to the post of federal minister of agriculture was also certainly his doing. All of these are names that no serious investigation of food exports can overlook, and they are largely the same names seen in the affair concerning concessions to a nonexistent Italian company in Fruska Gora. One hypothesis extends this Italian connection to Jezdimir Vasiljevic. According to that story, the source of Jezda's capital was not in Israel, but rather in the cradle of the Mafia, which through him is investing money in buying the Montenegrin coast. Because of proximity and the tradition with Italy, it is relatively easy to establish illegal trade connections, including arms and drugs, about which the local press writes from time to time.

All of Eastern Europe has become an El Dorado for money laundering, so that anything is possible. Naturally, it is very difficult to prove such shady dealings, but nevertheless the ways in which money is taken out of the country are more or less known: through Mafia channels, by "greasing the palms" of customs agents, and through VIPs. This third category means persons with diplomatic immunity or local wielders of power who for the most part are rarely subjected to customs procedures.

The Circle Widens?

It is possible to take money out legally only with the approval of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, and then only in order to pay off foreign debts. However, it is possible to get at a considerable amount of money, completely legally, through so-called commission loans, for example. Social enterprises that cannot dispose of money (saving it for the next payment of wages, and so on) turn it over to the bank for loans from other legal entities. The loans are favorable and not designated for a specific purpose, so that the recipient of the loan can, say, buy foreign exchange and then sell it right before paying off the loan, whereby he earns a big profit, even after paying interest. All that is required is collateral in the form of a mortgage on a house, apartment, or deposited foreign exchange. And naturally, you must have someone at the bank who will arrange all this for you, because bank funds received in this way must be reinvested the same day.

Crime and corruption occupy a special place as far as the Serbian borderlands, paramilitary formations, and refugees are concerned. There are legends circulating about the routes by which weapons arrive in the hands of Arkan, Seselj, and Capt. Dragan that are impossible to verify. It is rumored that Mr. Brane Crncevic, the president of the Matica Srpska, has been arrested. Mr. Crncevic told NIN that no one has even called him in for questioning, nor is there reason to.

"As you see, I am free, and I go to prison only voluntarily."

It remains to be seen whether this patriotic institution will also be audited. For now, most of the work involves checking the results of private shops, although we have reliable information indicating that inspectors have also visited some major social enterprises involved in the food trade.

The director of the Federal Directorate for Commodity Reserves, Dr. Milorad Stanojevic, told NIN that the business dealings of that institution are under continual and regular financial supervision.

"The Federal Directorate for Commodity Reserves has set up and developed its business system in such a way that crime and corruption are essentially impossible. The Federal Directorate answers to the federal government concerning its work, while the republican ones answer to the republican governments, so that we are neither in a position nor qualified to evaluate the work of the republican directorates."

Worried People

Mr. Radoslav Dimitrijevic, the acting director of the Commodity Reserves of the Republic of Serbia, did not have time to talk to NIN journalists, and republican Minister of Agriculture Jan Kisgeci informed us that he has no comment.

As this issue is going to press, the entire matter with the ministerial affair is at a standstill, limited only to the already arrested and interrogated heads of "Jugodrvo." Further developments will probably depend on the course of events at the session of the People's Assembly of Serbia devoted to this subject. Or rather on the will of the person who is pulling the strings and using the whole campaign to solidify his own position. Thus, no one even remembers any more that Milosevic announced a war on "bureaucracy, abuses, corruption, and irresponsibility" back in February 1991, during his reception for members of the newly elected Dragutin Zelenovic administration.

Will the campaign against crime and corruption, announced with great pomp, end with several people being sacrificed while the majority get off free, as more than two-thirds of the citizens surveyed this weekend think? Social psychologist Dr. Zarko Korac believes that this is a case of amputating part of the body in order to save the entire system. The citizens, however, are more worried than ever. According to one survey from February, 84.5 percent of all Belgradians are worried about an extension of the blockade, 82 percent about threats to their personal safety, 77.6 percent about the possibility that the war will spread to Serbia, and 76.7 percent about a possible civil war. Next were social unrest, the emergence of fascism, and loss of jobs, while the collapse of Jezda and Dafina concerned as many as 41 percent of Belgradians, even before Jezdimir Vasiljevic's spectacular departure.

[Box, p 11]

Boss Jezda

Not much has been written in the Israeli press about the "Jugoskandik" affair and its owner Jezdimir Vasiljevic. The most prominent newspaper, HA'ARETZ carries whatever is published by Belgrade's BORBA.

"It is noted only that 'Boss Jezda' (as the Israeli press refers to him) came to Israel without anything and that he often changes hotels," architect Iso Kabiljo, a Jew originally from Yugoslavia who lives in Haifa, says in a telephone interview with NIN. "I met Mr. Vasiljevic more than a year ago at an economic exhibition in Haifa, together with Mr. Matkovic, then the minister of industry. He introduced himself as the owner of investments being made in Serbia. Even then Mr. Vasiljevic did not give the impression that he was serious and reliable businessman."

It is known that Boss Jezda justified his trip to Israel with the need to consult with his business partners in order to take certain steps in connection with "captured gasoline" in Montenegro worth several tens of millions of marks.

"The people who are Mr. Vasiljevic's alleged partners (such as Izrael Kelman) are unknown in Israeli business circles. Quite simply, no serious and reasonable person would invest in such a thing, which borders on crime. The 'Jugoskandik' affair did not surprise me and other Jews from Yugoslavia. It surprised naive depositors, because what Mr. Vasiljevic did does not exist in any country of the world," Mr. Kabiljo concluded.

Increased Role of Yugoslav Air Force

93BA0857A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 29 Mar 93 pp 31-32

[Article by Uros Komlenovic: "Ferment in the Army: The Fog Riders"]

[Text] Milosevic's visit to the airmen the day before he went to Paris was used not only to demonstrate the combat readiness of this branch of the Army, but also to deliver slaps on the wrist. Reproaching the Army for mistakes "which it committed against itself," the Serbian president and member of the FRY Supreme Defense Council mentioned trials and scandals which are diminishing its reputation: "This unique humiliation and exchange of accusations have hardly ever been recorded in any other army." Although they were removed, the generals being tried still cannot count on mercy—"anyone who has committed treason or has been a thief must go before the court or to prison"—Milosevic's intention is clear—to slowly bring to an end the purges which have been shaking the Army for a year now.

The sudden conciliatory attitude of the leader of universal Serbism is no accident. The increasingly strong grumbling of dissatisfied officers is threatening to grow into open conflict, especially in the Security Administration. General Nedeljko Boskovic's announcement of a purge of that administration's "treasonous top leadership" has been thoroughly carried out, and a large number of counterintelligence personnel has been removed, and a dozen of the most important people have ended up in court as defendants: Gen. Aleksandar Vasiljevic, chief of the administration, and his deputy,

Simeon Tumanov (at the moment, in Macedonia), for malfeasance and taking bribes, Colonel Slobodan Rakocevic, chief of security in the air force, because of the Opera affair, and Battleship Captain Ljubisa Beara, chief of security in the navy, for executing two of Seselj's volunteers who went wild in a stolen military vehicle not far from Herceg-Novi and attacked the officer on duty. The top counterintelligence personnel of the Belgrade Army District have also been changed, and numerous operatives have been retired or removed.

"Masters in Our Own House"

Everything has been done under the conductor's baton of Gen. Nedeljko Boskovic, who, at the insistence of Branko Kostic, was reactivated a year ago and installed in the position of chief of military security. Although it was announced at the time that there would be a showdown with "criminals and traitors" and a campaign against abuse—"now we are masters in our own house"—his reign will be remembered for arrogance, use of helicopters to go for a rest in his native village, the disappearance of 36,000 marks taken from Radenko Radojcic, the death of Lieutenant Colonel Mitrovic which has not been cleared up, misappropriation of housing.... The increasingly numerous malcontents among Boskovic's subordinates are complaining that those with whom they work are refusing contacts, and there is no question of recruiting new people at all in a situation when their names are being revealed in political fights. No one, of course, wants to work for the counterintelligence service which does not protect him, and without a network of collaborators, that kind of institution cannot function. The fact that personnel of the Serbian MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] has been providing security to Gen. Boskovic has evoked a fear in many counterintelligence agencies that military security has been subordinated to the Serbian SDB [State Security Service].

In the meantime, Gen. Boskovic has been installed in the post of chief of the intelligence-security sector of the VJ [Army of Yugoslavia], a position unknown until now and potentially powerful. Thus, after several decades of separate operation, the Security Administration (the counterintelligence service subordinate to the minister of the Army or federal secretary) and the second administration (intelligence service under the authority of the chief of the General Staff) have been joined together. This unified secret service has been placed under command of the chief of the General Staff, so that this post has suddenly become stronger relative to the Defense Ministry. Pavle Bulatovic, then, will not have authority in this sector, and his role will be reduced to securing money from the budget and seeing to the ruined military industry. Accordingly, although Gen. Domazetovic's amendments to the anticipated Law on the Army of Yugoslavia, under which the General Staff would have gained still greater powers, have been rejected, the appointment of a civilian defense minister will not have the anticipated importance by any means, so no one should be surprised if one morning Pavle Bulatovic is told that he cannot enter his office.

Fortunately, we are already used to such things.

Forced Landing

The augmented power of the post of chief of the General Staff has become a challenge for ambitious generals who hope that Zivota Panic, who is approaching 60, will soon retire (September is being mentioned). It is in this light that we should look at the media offensive of Bozidar Stevanovic, commander of RV i PVO [Air Force and Air Defense]. To be sure, he is no younger than Gen. Panic, but the possibility of extraordinary extension of service should not be forgotten. It is interesting that Gen. Stevanovic has been making increasingly belligerent statements parallel to the rise of the Radicals on the Serbian political scene. It is well-known how angry pilots have been because of Stevanovic's practice of allowing Seselj, Arkan, and similar people to use military helicopters during visits to the front. Later, everything was hushed up, but there remained a fear of a general who two days before the election threatened a putsch if the results were not to his liking. For that matter, he was never particularly subtle even in the past—we recall how he demonstratively left the meeting in the command of the RV i PVO in late September 1991 when his motion did not pass for Generals Jurjevic and Kadijevic to submit their resignations. Just a few days later, a group of officers of the guard brigade blocked the building of the General Staff in Knez Milos Street and attempted a putsch. It might be just an accident that these events coincided in time, but....

In any case, Gen. Stevanovic can count on the support of the ultranationalistic circles in the top Serbian political leadership and on Gen. Boskovic, who was once security officer in his air force division. This duet of generals has already managed to put personnel from the air force in the most important positions of the Security Administration, which is exceedingly disturbing to the others. To tell the truth, the "boys in blue" [Air Force] have always been a "world to themselves," but recently there has been a pronounced intention for this branch to impose itself as an elite and to have the last word in the armed forces. In spite of the strong self-promotion, even Gen. Stevanovic, who because of his former flying skill is called Mika the Stick, is no longer the ace he was in his youth. Incidentally, back three years ago, after a forced landing at the Vrsac Airport, he was banned from flying supersonic aircraft, but he himself modified that order. The trouble is that the destiny of many people depends on the self-control of a pilot who not only overestimates his own abilities, but, still more dangerous, also the capabilities of the branch of the armed service which he commands. All ordinary mortals can do is to hope that the time of Dusan Simovic and Bora Murkovic is gone forever.

Polemics Surrounding Croatian Author, War Criminal

93BA0857B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian
29 Mar 93 pp 32-33

[Unattributed article: "Debate: With a Pick Because of Budak"]

[Text] Three weeks before its "transformation" into a joint stock company (the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union]), SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, using its last hours of freedom, published an article by Igor Mandic entitled "Bad Ideocrat and Poor Writer"; in this polemical article about Mile Budak, writer, but also the author of monstrous racist laws from the time of the NDH [Independent State of Croatia], Mandic does battle against the idea that the author of *Ognjista* (*Hearths*) is one of the "greatest literary giants of Croatia."

Given the political climate in Croatia, the reactions might have been predicted: Overnight Igor Mandic is accused of being the "spokesman of communist culture in Croatia"; the editors of the newspaper HRVATSKA DANAS have accused the author of the article and demanded that "Igor Mandic be eliminated from Croatian public life so that he does nothing further to corrupt the young generation and destroy national idols and symbols"; a fierce debate among readers who are not mincing words has developed in the pages of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA.

A certain Nikola Zokic sent a piece to the editors entitled "Budak's Last Decapitation" on this theme: "Lulled into false security that after the increasingly frequent quartering of the Croatian writer Mile Budak, he, the great Igor, would have the honor and pleasure of being the last decapitator, he set out for the pages of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA"; consumed in perfidious hatred, he did not wish to afford even the small protection of a fig leaf. Because in his advertisement Igor Mandic is not seeking a literary seminar, nor a round-table discussion among critics, but populist morsels, I am so bold as to write to satisfy his passion for good cooking.

"Perhaps I am not afraid because I feel the protection of Budak's soiled old women, the hands of one of them I still carry in my hair, and their smell did not put me off, but showed pathways of honesty, patience, and an unobtrusive dream of exalted love. No, great Igor, you write that the unenlightened population surrenders to a rhythm and way of life that can make today's reader's skin crawl. 'Illiterates and people who have not been educated in any other sense, savages, adapted to cruel living conditions, these peasants live like livestock or even worse. That life can only provisionally be referred to as Christian (in the some 300 pages of *Muslinka*, there is only one brief scene in a church), but is basically pagan, so miserable, gloomy, degrading.... And no one knows what they did to wrong God or anyone else?'

"You know very well that they had not wronged God, but what about those who are enlightened, and what about those, Mandic, who spend hours in sweet-smelling baths and hold their nose and do the same to their conscience in the face of Budak's peasants. Hundreds of thousands of Budak's peasants are today wandering over Croatian land ('on the edge of the manure pile in which grubby children are drowned, far from any kind of civilization, and they eat miserably, all but dying of starvation').

"You, Mandic, write 'certainly there is no guilt for that.'..."

Vladimir Tomic Feric came to Mandic's defense in an article entitled "A Tax Beneath Dignity": "It was a great mistake not to publish Budak's books and to keep them out of libraries. Even though there is no question that he was a war criminal, that is not a reason not to read what he wrote. Krleza managed to read only Budak's novella *Saint Peter in Lika*, but some go so far as to compare him to the great bard from Gvozd. They would have said that he was ahead of him, but that would be too much.... I remember hearing once someone placing him ahead of the great Ivo Andric, whom no one has the right to exclude from Croatian literature, regardless of his political convictions. Slobodan Prosperov Novak called attention to that in one of his recent statements. Nevertheless, in Split today Mile Budak now has his street, and the great Croatian Nobel Prize winner has lost his. What formerly was Ivo Andric Street has now been renamed Vicko Andric Street, but certainly there are few people who know who he was (...). So, Igor Mandic was right. The attacks of ignoramuses on him were beneath dignity.

"The disturbing thing are the ideas which people are trying to convey at a time when we are trying to get Europe and the world to understand us and when we want everyone to know that there is no room for racism and fascism. The names of one street and of one school are isolated excesses.... Let us be a bit more careful when affirmation of the homeland is involved."

Zlatko Gall provided the editorial comment of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA: "If the signatories of the protest because of Mandic's critical judgment of the work of Budak the writer had really been recruited from the ranks of lovers of good literature, they would have done everything to separate Mile the writer from Budak the boss' right-hand man. Advocating at least the formal separation from bed and board in political ideology and literature of the kind that finally thrust the writer Ezra Pound into every self-respecting anthology even though he cast a fond eye on fascist ideologemes and Leni Riefenstahl's opus of Nazi propaganda into departments where they teach the art of the film. It is another question, of course, whether the writer Mile, without support of Budak the right-hand man, would have won his 'option for eternity.' As a good guy 'or bad guy,' no matter."

Although it is more than a month now since Mandic's article was published, the "Mile Budak affair" is not dying down: The Jewish Commune in Zagreb has sent a

protest to the authorities because of their intention to name an elementary school and street (previously named for Djuro Salaj) for Mile Budak, one of the Ustasha ideologues.

Thus, politics has entered literature by the cruelest method; but as far as present-day Croatia is concerned, that seems to be more the rule than the exception.

Serbia

UN Convoy Leaves Belgrade for Srebrenica

AU1304090693 Paris AFP in English 0841 GMT 13 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, April 13 (AFP)—A UNHCR convoy left Belgrade Tuesday and headed to the besieged eastern Bosnian enclave of Srebrenica where it was to evacuate some of the town's most seriously wounded, a UNHCR spokesman said.

"The convoy made up of 12 trucks, six of which are empty, is currently at the border between Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and should reach Srebrenica today (Tuesday)," said Laurens Jolles of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR.)

If everything went according to plan six of the trucks would go into the town and evacuate some civilians, including some of those injured during Monday's Serb bombardment of the Moslem-held town. To avoid overcrowding, refugees would be then be divided between all 12 trucks after leaving the city, he said.

Earlier convoys have been mobbed by thousands of refugees trying to leave the besieged city and several people have been crushed to death as a result.

Authorities in Srebrenica have recently refused to allow refugees to leave, fearing this plays into the hands of their Serb enemies who want all Moslems out of the area. A convoy last week was refused permission to evacuate refugees on the grounds that its trucks were not covered.

Fifty-six civilians were killed in the shelling Monday and 90 were injured, 73 of them seriously.

John McMillan, a UNHCR spokesman in Sarajevo, said Monday that the decision to send a convoy to evacuate the wounded was made after General Ratko Mladic, the commander of the Bosnian Serb forces, made assurances that his troops would respect a nationwide ceasefire declared March 28 and a supplementary ceasefire agreed for the Srebrenica pocket which officially took effect Saturday.

War Against Crime Signaling End of War in Bosnia

93BA0836B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 93 pp 20-21

[Article by Stojan Cerovic: "The Serbian Awakening: Nightmare on Pirates' Island"]

[Text] Ministers in jail; Master Jezda fled; the firm Jugodrvo, which was involved in smuggling petroleum, has reported two suspicious corpses.

Have we awakened in the middle of the law-governed state?

The answer would be partly in the affirmative, that is, some awakening has begun, there is also some kind of handy state that can be set up and dismantled at will, and even law will turn up at some point. It is nevertheless important that the first signs have appeared as a distinction between dream and reality, and in that context the nervousness and crowd in front of the doors of Jugoskandik are a magnificent scene, but the best will be when the last in line, who will be left without their money, break the windows and demolish both this one and all the other factors of dreams and illusions.

They say in the United States that if it seems too good to be true, then it probably is. No one there would have deposited a cent in a bank like Jugoskandik or Dafiment, but here, people have lived for a long time in pretty dreams and there is simply no way to wake up until someone takes the money from your hands. The government did that, but in a roundabout way and always with some excuse from the land of dreams. The dream was becoming uglier and uglier; in the end, it became a horrible nightmare, but it was important not to wake up. For Serbia, the war in Croatia and Bosnia was a dream of national liberation or unification. The war was always a dream, indeed the greatest and most expensive one, but all the smaller ones here had already been used up.

Reality is money, and, of course, interest rates, which here, at least in the short term, were placed at the service of the dream. Jezda and Dafina played the role that was formerly played by Western loans which were the payment for the dream of socialist self-management and nonalignment. That money was more real, because Tito knew how to conduct a foreign policy which at that time could collect from the West, but within the country he took very good care not to spoil the dream and left it in a state of firm belief that something could always be got for nothing. But no one wanted to finance this war dream, and that is why Jezda and Dafina and their magic lamp were invented to satisfy the desires of the public for foreign exchange when that same money was being taken away from them.

Incidentally, even the war itself effectively prevented the awakening, at least in Serbia, where the gunfire bursts and cannonades cannot be heard. We can consider a man able to count money to be awake. For all the rest, a man

can rely on television, he can believe what is being said about the state, about Serbism, about borders, about enemies, about betrayal of national interests, and about the war. But I cannot convince you that you have money when you do not. Which explains the existence of the mint and the bank of 1,001 nights, which are giving away money until the country dries up completely.

What is now being represented as an effort of a law-governed state might be seen as the beginning of natural selection of thieves and scoundrels, which have simply overreproduced in a small space and in a short time. As a rule, this is a process not to be messed with, because one never knows who is worse than whom, and because the selection process might be interrupted too early. When two groups begin to accuse one another, it is best to believe everything they all say, but believe nothing anyone says when they speak about themselves. That brings us closest to the truth, and in that way you get the largest mutual eradication.

That kind of selection takes place occasionally even in the best-organized states when it turns out that the system has for some reason not managed to produce the correct percentage of thieves. Our case is more serious. Here, the mafioso scum multiplied precisely when the people were exposed to the greatest denials and misfortunes. Still worse: The ones stealing the most here are precisely the ones who have been calling to hold on, to make sacrifices, to help our threatened brothers, to go hungry until the holy war for the national cause is over. Worst of all: They needed the war so that they could steal, just as the sanctions were welcome to them. Someone else's death is the best business, and the more dead, the bigger the profit. The petroleum business and all the others were derived from that original bit of business.

It has always been a crime to get rich from misfortune and war, but what is one to say of people who sit at the top of the government and are uncompromising patriots by day, while at night they count up how much this is bringing them? They are not only in a position to take advantage of the war, but they are also in a position to maintain it "so long as it brings in income," as Jezdimir Vasiljevic once put it. These people have been taking payoffs from all the people and in return guaranteeing them an extreme level of misery, misfortune, and shame.

Why has Slobodan Milosevic decided to begin practicing the law-governed state? And why just now? Of course, people knew at once that if he was serious, he would have to strike at people around him. Some of them, like the arrested Minister Mihajlovic, seem to have been appointed in order to be sacrificed. But I do not believe that what we see here is just the intention to anticipate a social explosion by means of token victims. This nevertheless seems to be connected somehow to the approaching end of the war in Bosnia, an end which Milosevic will not be able to brag about and be proud of. That will be a moment of awakening and totaling up accounts, and the relation between Serbia's economic expenditure and the anticipated territorial income from Bosnia will be such, that is, that Milosevic cannot let that moment find him unprepared.

The fight against crime could take place in a way very reminiscent of the former antibureaucratic revolution. In and around the structure of government have congregated a great number of those who have suddenly become rich, acquired power, independence, and the ability to corrupt the entire state and turn it into a pirates' island, which international isolation has favored. Milosevic has probably felt that he was slowly becoming a hostage to that Mafia, which he would be unable to govern, because it would not need him, especially when the war in Bosnia comes to an end and the dream in the name of which all this could have occurred is interrupted.

But if he really wanted to take this anticriminal revolution all the way and try to restore his lost splendor, Milosevic would be risking too much and doing so without hope of success. A conspiracy could easily be hatched to remove him, which means that he will assign differing roles to that mafioso company: A smaller number will become criminals, and a somewhat larger number will stand on the side of justice. Jezdimir Vasiljevic has thus probably been seen in the first group and Mrs. Dafina in the second. That is how it will be with the various ministers and directors, and the police will not be touched.

Vasiljevic spoiled things a bit by fleeing, but Milosevic will be able to use much of what he has said, so that it seems that Jezda has nevertheless been careful about what he said. His charges against the Montenegrin leadership, which Milosevic has long had in his sights and he would gladly arrange for it something that has already been seen in Podgorica, were particularly welcome. Perhaps to arrest Prime Minister Djukanovic and merely frighten and blackmail Bulatovic so as not to make too much of a ruckus there, so that the desire for independence would nevertheless pass with the Montenegrins.

But none of all that will any longer be doable just offhand, as it was in those happy times of the antibureaucratic revolution, when Milosevic figured in the role of executor of the will of the people. The people no longer have a will for anything, in which case a valid substitute must be found, usually in the form of the army and the police. I would say that Milosevic's visit to the air force base, on the eve of his trip to Paris, carried many more messages for internal use, rather than a supposed demonstration of readiness to respond to an external attack. But, of course, things might become so complicated for him that the army would not know which way to turn its guns. Toward the outside, toward the inside, or against one another?

This is a double feature. The war film is nearly over, and the crime film is just beginning. We know from the beginning who the murderer is, but it is not clear who is on the side of the law, who will be caught, and for whom we are rooting. The film is dynamic, but it lacks real suspense. No matter, at the moment there is nothing better in the domestic repertoire.

State Security Involvement in Investigation 'Unusual'

93BA0836A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 93 p 15

[Unattributed article: "Mysteries: Is There a Worm in Jugodrvo?"]

[Text] On 9 March, at about 0800 the shot which echoed in the entry of the building at No. 4 Bulevar Revolucije in Belgrade probably did not particularly surprise the tenants, because the street dealers on duty in the vicinity usually had their quirks. Nevertheless, an unpleasant surprise lay in wait for the curious—the walls were spattered with blood, and the lifeless body of their neighbor, Radovan Nikolic, financial director of the company Jugodrvo, lay on the floor. Because a 9-mm pistol was found in his hand, the first version that leaked out, unofficial, of course, was suicide. The police, as is their wont, are keeping quiet "in the interest of the investigation."

It has been learned in the meantime that Nikolic first took his son to school that morning and then, immediately before the tragedy, came back home for his briefcase; it still is not known whether it has been found. The telephone threat said to have been made to Nikolic several days earlier could seriously jeopardize the version of suicide, especially because it is utterly illogical for a man who had decided to end his life to do it in the entryway of his own building. If he wanted to spare his family, he could have done it somewhere else, and the entryway of a building is certainly not a suitable atmosphere if he wanted to arrange a spectacle.

The suicide story might perhaps have held up if Jugodrvo had not been at the center of public interest. Four days earlier, Branimir Vukovic, director of that company's representative office in Budapest, lost his life in an automobile accident near Novi Sad.

It is of interest that members of the Serbian SDB [State Security Service] took an interest in Jugodrvo's petroleum business some three months ago. To be sure, they explained the entry they made into the office where petroleum transactions were concluded in terms of an alleged report that a bomb had been placed there. It is clearer now that they were interested in something else. Of course, when financial transactions are involved, the most valuable testimony is that of the financial director. He is unfortunately dead, so that certain details about the connection between the two arrested ministers and the firm Jugodrvo will probably remain unknown.

In any case, the involvement of the State Security Service in matters reserved by definition for their colleagues from the JB [Public Security] is unusual. Their involvement might be interpreted as determination of the top political leadership in Serbia to have a showdown with the "rascals in their own ranks," but also as an attempt not to let the skein unravel too far. It is, after all, well-known that there was not too much room in the Bozovic government for personal initiative of ministers—95 percent of the time spent in meetings of the government, witnesses say, went to the speech of the "little Napoleon" from Subotica. He was involved in everything, and he always had the last word. It is hard to believe, then, that he did not know about the activities of his two favorite ministers. If Bozovic knew what his ministers were doing, then, why did he not react?

The answer to that question might be supplied by the investigation if it is broadened. The public is awaiting additional explanations. Agriculture Minister Jan Kisgeci, for example, ought to explain how his signature came to be on a document dated 18 March 1992 ordering the sugar refinery in Sremska Mitrovica to deliver 130 tons of sugar to the phantom UPI-Finances of Sarajevo through the exporter Agrimonija of Novi Sad, when a decree of the Serbian government had prohibited the export of certain products. Only the minister for trade and tourism (in the particular case, Sava Vlajkovic) could have approved such an export. Why, then, Kisgeci? What is more, it would certainly be interesting to have testimony from Jovan Zebic, at that time republic, but now federal, finance minister, and the reaction of their boss, Radovan Bozovic, is awaited with the greatest impatience.

In any case, the dimensions of this affair go far beyond the importance of Vlajkovic and Mihajlovic, who are now under arrest. After all, the fact that the unfortunate directors of Jugodrvo have become silent forever (regardless of whether this was murder or suicide in the one case or an accidental or arranged accident in the other) says enough in itself. Will anyone else be sacrificed in addition to Vlajkovic and Mihajlovic (perhaps even Bozovic, if Someone judges that he has become "too hot")? It is clear that Bora Djordjevic was not right when at one time he hummed that "there is no worm in Jugodrvo." That tree is certainly wormy and will probably be cut, but it would be good if other, much bigger worms do not get away.

Macedonia

Assembly To Vote on No-Confidence Motion

LD1204214093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2032 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] Skopje, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—A session of the Assembly of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia opened with a six-hour delay this evening. There is only item on the agenda: The no-confidence motion in the government of Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, which was put on the agenda at the request of the opposition Internal Macedonian Revolution Organization/Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity [VMRO-DPMNE].

The discussion should be completed by midnight, following which deputies are due to vote on the motion.

Tomislav Stefkovski, head of the VMRE-DPMNE deputies' club, cited the following as the reason for the party request: the exceptionally difficult economic situation, rising unemployment, mass appropriation of public and state property by private individuals, rising inflation, and "because the government accepted the name 'the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia' when the republic was admitted to the United Nations, thus opening the way for the name 'Macedonia' to be dropped when a dispute with Greece is settled."

Divisions among citizens into a very rich minority and an increasingly poor majority, as well as corruption, also were cited as reasons for requesting the vote of no-confidence in the government.

Deputy Ljupce Georgijevski, the VMRO-DPMNE leader, blamed President Kiro Gligorov for the overall situation in the republic, and specifically for inviting foreign troops—as Georgijevski called the UN forces—to come to the republic "without the Assembly's knowledge and approval."

Need To Recognize Macedonian Political Factor

93BA0828A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 19 Mar 93 p 23

[Commentary by Svetislav Spasojevic: "Wolf's Smile"]

[Text] *The time of Macedonian "Serbs" and "Bulgarians" is simply past. What is left are Macedonians who ultimately must be accepted as a political factor in the Balkans.*

In Vodno Dedinje in Skopje, the villas of the Kolisevski and Gligorov families are scarcely 100 meters apart. The former and current Macedonian leaders have not spoken to one another for decades! Last week, the newspapers reported that the City Assembly of Skopje is going to deprive Macedonian revolutionary Lazar Kolisevski of the status of honorary citizen. Does the reader think that, God forbid, Belgrade's lord mayor would dare divest a certain Petar Stambolic of "services to the nation" without first getting an order from the proprietor of Serbia?

Serbs are inclined to take their incredible need to simplify political matters to the point of banality. At the mention of the name Kiro Gligorov, they hiss irritably "Bulgarian," while at Lazar Kolisevski they coo "Serb." These caricatures are at the heart of all the nonsense of Serbian policy toward Macedonia and the Macedonians. Many times I saw myself in them, as they say in Cetinje, and I have always gone away with the conviction that they are orthodox Macedonians. Of course, as people cautiously do, they have always approached this from distant sides. For example, to this day Mr. Kolisevski has remained unwavering in his belief that a strong Serbia is the most reliable guarantor of Yugoslavism and Yugoslavia, and thus of Macedonia as well. (At one point, unlike the Serb sycophants, he quarreled with Josip Broz over this point.) Mr. Gligorov, when the subject turns to Serbo-Macedonian coexistence, does not want to hear about either a weak or a strong Serbia. His life obsession, although hidden for decades, is a separate and independent Macedonia.

One of the fundamental orientations of present-day Serbian foreign policy is that Greece is the Serbs' second fatherland. Thus, even among Serbs otherwise inclined toward factionalism there is no disagreement on this issue. And when they lived together with Serbs in the same state, especially today, the Macedonians simply refused to comprehend this deep Serbian attachment to the Greeks. The Serbs in turn are simply exasperated by the very notion of Skopje's gentle overtures toward Sofia. I am not sure whether Athens has ever understood why, immediately after the end of the Second World War, the Serbian Assembly hurried to be the first to accept the existence of the Macedonian nation. But let us not spend too much space on this witches' dance: Athens, Skopje, Belgrade, and Sofia have never respected wisdom—if you want us to be friends, you cannot choose my friends for me. Even today, some nations are looking around here with a wolf's smile.

In this century the Serbs, inadmissibly relying on the Nemanja ideal of the state, built up two of them with a Belgrade-Zagreb-Ljubljana axis. The proof that they were untenable and erroneous lies in thousands of graves. And clearly not only Serbian ones. These were states dominated by the fury of hatred. It is important to emphasize here that in these states, Macedonia was neglected. Belgrade curried favor with Zagreb and Ljubljana in an unseemly fashion, while looking at Skopje like an empress in St. Petersburg would regard a distant Siberian province. Inexplicably, the Belgrade regime continues to do this today with the same avidity.

In Skopje, those who are well informed are saying increasingly frequently and loudly that the Macedonian ship has long since stopped listening to the helmsman. The experienced captain, I believe, understands this, but he is kept at the helm by accumulated experience, skillful shuffling of the cards (read: people), and thus the pretentious and clumsy Belgrade regime.

In Skopje, the Serbian military cap is on trial! Young men singing "Who says so..." in their youthful arrogance and wearing the Serbian cap are arrested. In January, on the way from Skopje to Skopska Crna Gora, which is inhabited exclusively by Serbs, I was stopped by a police patrol and turned back solely because I am a Belgrade journalist. There are demonstrations at the main square in Skopje with banners on which Macedonia is drawn surrounded by four wolves: Greece, Bulgaria, Albania, and, of course, Serbia. When I saw that, it seemed to me that the wolf on the northern border was the biggest and most bloodthirsty. In Macedonian schools, children learn that in the first war the French broke through the

Salonika front. The Serbs were presumably in the supply units. Some provincial intellectuals in Skopje are seeking a ban on the sale of the Belgrade press. They want to turn Macedonia into an aviary so that they can be the nightingales.

In Bitola, cattle graze in a cemetery for fallen Serbs. A monument and cemetery worthy of glorifying Roman legionnaires has been erected below Bitola to the German soldiers who looked at them from the other side of the gun barrel. The cellar of the Church of St. George, on the outskirts of Skopje (built by the late King Aleksandar Karadjordjevic), which contains the bones of Serbian soldiers, has never been opened. Zebrenjak, just above Kumanovo, is practically in ruins. The house in southern Macedonia where the General Staff of the Serbian army was headquartered, and where an old and tired Petar Mrkonjic lived, is on its last legs (if it has not already collapsed).

Despair, defeat, conceit, ingratitude.... Serbian chauvinists shout that Macedonia is their bloody accomplishment.

The question of Serbian monuments in Macedonia is a matter of the accomplishments of civilization, clearly not one of national relations. Admittedly, Macedonia is not obligated to restore and maintain Serbian holy objects. Serbian communists, the ones who were leading us into a bright future, which some of them are still doing, were until recently ashamed of the glorious Serbian victories in wars at the beginning of this century. It is not the Macedonians' fault that we reduced our entire history to only seven offensives. It is inadmissible for us to blame the Macedonians for the sin that we committed against our unfortunate fellow tribesmen. The Church of St. George was given to the Macedonians by Broz's favorite Serb, Gen. Nikola Ljubicic. Thus, they did not take it away from us. There has always been a Serbian school in Skopje, but there has never been a Macedonian one in Belgrade! We say that the Macedonians do not want to study in Serbian. They soar from happiness when we reveal to them that they are Serbs, for God's sake.

Serbs in Macedonia are defended by those who remembered last night that they are Serbs. Clearly for the advantages. The Serbian regime is silent. It is above this, it is the world center of power. It is not interested in what some little guy may think and say there. The upstart Serbs simply go mad with satisfaction when they hear that it is hard to live in Macedonia and that the Albanians have occupied the western part of their country.

Skopje and Belgrade are systematically destroying what they have in common. The suggestion by some Macedonian intellectuals and politicians that love for one's own people should be expressed through fanatical hatred of the Serbian people is incomprehensible. Serbian contempt for nations smaller than theirs is quintessentially contrary to Serbhood. As consolation, reasonable people are left with the graffiti written in Cyrillic in the very center of Ljubljana: "I am a little sad today." It was written, in a burst of despair, by a "southerner," possibly a Macedonian or a Serb. It makes no difference whatsoever. How much tragicomedy is used by some to convince us that we hate each other.

Lately, the assertion that Greece and Serbia will continue to be neighbors in the future resembles an extremely hypocritical threat. It is obvious that the world, to put it mildly, is avoiding the decision to recognize Macedonia, but this clearly should not be a reason for Serbs to stare indecently. The time of Macedonian "Serbs" and "Bulgarians" is simply past. What is left are Macedonians who ultimately must be accepted as a political factor in the Balkans. Indeed, that is the only possible way for Serbs and Greeks to be neighbors once more.

Kosovo

Police Move to Hamper Albanian Assembly

LD1204161193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 12 Apr 93

[Text] In order to prevent the convening of a Kosovo parliament, the Serbian police have completely encircled Kosovo in the past two days. Strict police control has been implemented, particularly in Pristina, where all vehicles and passers-by were being stopped.

According to some information available to the police, the Kosovo parliament should allegedly have been constituted in secret in Pristina yesterday, an event which the Serbian authorities have been preventing for almost a year. In the past few days the Serbian police have invited members of the Kosovo parliament for so-called fact-finding talks, and have been harassing them. Members of the state security service in plain clothes, who were noticed near the homes and apartments of members of parliament, were also following Kosovo parliamentarians.

Several ministers in the Yugoslav and Serbian governments are in Kosovo. Federal Justice Minister Tomislav Ivic threatened Albanians with 15 years of imprisonment if they were to try to constitute the Kosovo parliament.

Ibrahim Rugova hinted that the constituent assembly will be held soon despite Serbian threats.